THE NEW REPUBLIC

Fulbright of Arkansas

Sidney Hyman

Steel–Did JFK Go Too Far?

Estes Kefauver, and Others

On "Men and Nations"

Reinhold Niebuhr

Francis Hackett: In Remembrance

What Is a Teacher Worth?

May 14, 1962, 25 c

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Dear Me

★ We have a passenger list of about 3 billion on this voyaging planet and we shall have twice that number in 35 years. If you are 30 or younger you will probably live to see it. Where shall we stow them? Probably we can't stow them. Ideally there is room, but a new analysis by the Center for International Economic Growth with a foreword by World Bank President Eugene R. Black implies that if population growth isn't checked consciously it will probably be checked by starvation and/or mass slaughter. The atomic bomb is a good way to control population if nations won't control births.

Birth control – dear me, that is a delicate subject; we mustn't discuss it because it might give religious offense! So we pump foreign aid into backward nations whose increased population eats it up overnight. Here at home our population increases 1.5 percent (3,000,000) a year; in Central America it is about 4 percent.

The new study, "Does Overpopulation Mean Poverty," by Joseph M. Jones (Committee for International Economic Growth, 1720 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., 75 cents), got a fair press with all the reports we saw carefully avoiding the religious issue. The report points out that Communism on one hand and Catholicism on the other deny that a world population problem exists. Communism "regards concern for population growth as a bourgeois excuse for the inadequacies of the capitalistic system. . . . The Roman Catholic Church opposes as a matter of moral principle many methods of birth control. . . . In many predominantly non-Catholic countries the subject is politically sensitive and assiduously avoided in official circles because of the presumed views of Catholic minorities."

So there you have it. As James Reston once wrote in *The New York Times:* "Probably never in history has so obvious and significant a fact been so widely evaded or minimized by the governments of men."

Clean Choice

★ Lyndon Johnson's candidate John Connally, well-heeled ex-Secretary of the Navy, won the Democratic primary trial heat for governor last week in a field of six, with the sole liberal, Don Yarborough (36) – no relation to Senator Yarborough – coming in second; incumbent governor Price Daniel third and eliminated; and Birchite Maj. Gen. Walker in last place. The Connally-Yarborough run-off comes June 2 with Texans having the first clean-cut choice in a long time between a conservative and a liberal. The Vice President diplomatically seeks to disassociate himself from his old friend Connally, who attacked the Kennedy education, medicare and other proposals once he was campaigning back in Texas. (We assume the other conservatives will now gang up against Yarborough, who will need a miracle to win. We also assume that if Connally gets the nomination a lot of Texas liberals will go fishing next November or vote for Cox, the Republican, just as they voted for and helped elect Republican Senator John Tower. After all, if the choice is between two conservatives why not choose the Republican? (Incidentally, in commenting on Texas last week we said FDR had dropped Garner as vice president after one term. It was of course two terms.)

Rule-of-Thumb

★ The Commerce Department has just got out its annual survey of the distribution of US incomes. Americans know they are the richest country on earth and would like to think that they also distribute the wealth fairly evenly. Nonsense. The rule-of-thumb statistic we try to remember is that the top 5 percent of the families got around 20 percent of the income, and the bottom 20 percent of the families got about 5 percent of the income. That's quite a spread! (You can remember also, if you like, that the total personal income pie for 1961 was just under $400 billion.)

If the number of families (and unattached individuals) were divided into total US personal income the average would be $7,020. Actually, the median income is $5,720.

You can do a lot of tricks with statistics if you really set your mind to it. We note a new study by economist G. Warren Nutter of the University of Virginia, comparing industrial growth of the US and USSR. CIA chief Allen Dulles told Congress in November, 1959, that Soviet output is "twice" ours and that if this persists "the gap between our two economies by 1970 will be dangerously narrowed."

These were pretty courageous words by Dulles when you consider they were spoken under Eisenhower who really slowed down our economy. The conservatives never quite forgave him. Now we see David Lawrence's *US News & World Report* has grabbed comfort out of the Nutter estimates. "Russia's Industrial 'Power' – Another Myth Debunked" says the title of its article. In case you have been "worried" by all the warnings, the headline continues, "Any idea that Russia is about to catch up with the US in industrial output is imaginary."

Twenty-Three Years

★ That sounds splendid; one looks to see how it is all done. Simple enough! – the rate of Russian and American growth is taken from the year 1913, at the time of the Czars. If you start from 1913 Russia won't overtake us for "500 years," says David Lawrence. Nobody has told him, I guess, that the Czars are gone.

How silly can you get? Just turn to the next page of this same article and there is a comparison, "When Soviet Union Might Catch Up With Us" using different starting dates. If "both nations grow as they did in the last few years of record (the latter years of the 1950's)," the article reports, "Russian output will equal that of the US in 1985 – 23 years from now."

Twenty-three years; we don't get a bit of comfort out of that. We wonder what "myth" David Lawrence will "debunk" next? We simply must increase our growth rate.

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What Is a Teacher Worth?

THE WEEK

3. What Is a Teacher Worth?; Three Shots in the Dark; Footnotes to the Week; Billie Boy from Pecos; Falling Bodies?; Malraux Comes to Dinner; Labor and the Vote; Religion in Its Place

ARTICLES

9. De Gaulle Alone
by Denis Healey
11. Report from a Troubled Colony
by Impertinax
12. The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson
13. The Uses of Presidential Power
Replies to Charles A. Reich
19. Fulbright
by Sidney Hyman

DEPARTMENTS

27. Books 34. Movies 35. Feiffer
37. Theater 38. Correspondence

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To the education-minded, Congress seems to be just plain perverse when it comes to helping schools. The pros and cons of federal aid have been thoroughly debated for four years (the cons always having more votes than the pros), and now the House Committee on Education and Labor is again holding hearings on an aid bill, sponsored by Rep. Cleveland M. Bailey (D, W.Va.), which would give states an additional $488 million a year for public education. It will not pass and is not even likely to come to a vote in 1962.

However, before dismissing federal aid to education for another year as the victim of hopeless Congressional indifference, let us note that under most of the dozens of proposals debated in recent sessions, including Representative Bailey's, the bulk of federal funds would go to the richer, more populous states, those best capable of financing their schools without outside help. Furthermore, many of the extant proposals (although not Mr. Bailey's) would not permit states to use the grants for teachers' salaries, but only for building classrooms – though inadequate classrooms are the one deficiency which local school boards understand best and have done most to remedy.

Those who do want to spend federal money on salaries, rather than on well-lighted and airy classrooms, are not blameless either. For they have tended to assume that across-the-board salary increases will improve the quality of education. That is an erroneous assumption, as Robert Maynard Hutchins wrote in 1935, because while salaries, security and freedom are indispensable prerequisites to any development of American education, "none of them . . . will supply the fatal lack of an educated teaching staff." And he went on to say that we are "involved in a vicious circle. The teachers are badly educated. They educate their students badly. Some of the badly educated students become badly educated teachers who educate their students badly." How responsible are low salaries for this?

Nearly 80 percent of all American teachers are women. A starting teaching salary of $80-$90 a week is certainly competitive with other jobs open to young women just out of college, and a top salary of $135-$170 is as much or more than is offered in any other primarily feminine calling. Even for men, $80-$90 a week is not too bad compared with starting salaries for lawyers, college instructors, civil servants or journalists. The trouble with the pay offered male teachers is that most school districts have a salary ceiling that is less than double the minimum. This means that gifted men who want to sup-

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port their families in the usual American upper middle-class style must either leave the schools around the age of 35, or become administrators. Knowing this, most men never even think of entering the classroom.

Ideally, schools should pay both men and women, both novices and experts, enough to support a family comfortably. But local school boards know most of their employees will be willing to work for less than this – indeed that many require less – and that the taxpayers will not foot such a bill anyway. In practice, the choice is between paying men and women different salaries, or driving middle-aged men out of the profession. If the typical woman teacher were committed to teaching as to a calling for which sacrifice is gladly given, salaries would be less of a problem than they are. But experience has shown that there are not many women teachers who see schools as a lifetime vocation or who are willing to fight long-term battles to improve them. The majority, though certainly not all, accept a system dominated by male administrators and allow themselves to be treated as clerks and custodians.

If our analysis is correct, the need is not for across-the-board salary jumps of $100-$200 apiece, such as the Bailey Bill might provide. (Much of the $488 million would, of course, be spent on bricks and mortar, so the nation's 1.4 million teachers would be lucky to get $280 million of the total.) Where salaries now start at $3,800 or $4,800, substantially better-qualified recruits, especially male recruits, will not be attracted by lifting the floor to $4,000 or $5,000. Where the ceiling is $6,500 or $8,500, we won't keep the more gifted and dedicated men from going back to the university at 35, getting a doctorate in Education, and becoming administrators – merely by raising the top classroom pay to $6,700 or $8,700.

There are, however, alternatives. When a gifted teacher reaches 35 and a fourth child is on the way, his or her salary need not freeze. Instead of the present, typical 12 annual increments from $4,500 to $8,500, a good teacher could look forward to 30 annual increments, from $4,500 to $14,500. This is the kind of prospect an administrator already has, and there is no reason why the classroom should not be made as economically attractive as the front office.

The whole teaching profession is hobbled by the fact that classroom salaries are women's salaries. But suppose Congress were to offer any teacher who had reached the top of his or her local salary scale a two-year federal scholarship at a good university. Qualified teachers could then study the latest ideas on their subject, new supervised teaching and writing, and be screened for professional competence. Those who showed sufficient talent to graduate from the program could then be offered federal increments to their local salary, so that by the age of 50 they would be doing as well as their colleagues in administration.

Such a program would cost relatively little at first; qualified applicants would be limited. But with proper publicity, the program might soon increase the number of gifted individuals entering teaching as a lifelong rather than just a pre-marital career. Unlike the Bailey Bill and its predecessors, such federal aid would also provide a ready-made check on the results of federal expenditures, since money would go to a clearly identified group of teachers who had met federally-specified standards. Nor is such a proposal radically new. It could grow naturally out of present federal programs for retraining and upgrading experienced teachers of science, mathematics, foreign languages and English. All that is needed is to expand these institutes and then pay their graduates additional sums after they return to the classroom. Since these graduates would be in nationwide demand, good teachers would be able to move from oppressive school systems to better ones, instead of leaving the classroom altogether as they so often do now.

These selective increases, commonly known as "merit pay," have been viewed by teachers either as a device for keeping most salaries low while making the pay scale seem attractive to outsiders, or else as a tool of administrative favoritism. Merit pay is clearly undesirable if "merit" is determined by administrative fiat; it then demoralizes the teachers and increases their already alarming deference to the hierarchs. But merit pay in some form is essential in a profession whose members have highly unequal aspirations and talents. Federal grants to teachers certified by federal training programs is not all that education needs. But unless some such aid is forthcoming, the economic and social level of teachers will continue to be that of young girls just out of college, and the children will be the victims.

Three Shots in the Dark

The purpose of the proposed detonation of a hydrogen bomb 500 miles above Johnston Island in the Pacific Ocean and of two lower-altitude shots in the same series is to determine whether such explosions have military potential; whether, that is, a bomb exploded at that height might produce an effect which could disrupt missile deliveries. If the highest of these tests goes off as planned (in June or July), its yield of less than one megaton (the equivalent of one million tons of TNT) is expected to knock out radio communications in the Pacific for anywhere from a few hours to two weeks, to produce a spectacular aurora, and to alter or possibly destroy the inner Van Allen radiation belt.

This belt is a big doughnut of charged particles that circles the earth's equator from an altitude of 400 to

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about 50,000 miles. It is a phenomenon about which little is known but which is under intensive study by scientists of many countries. Disturbing or erasing the belt – both conceivable as a result of the planned explosion – will have far-reaching implications. It may permanently modify the environment of the earth; it may also disrupt cooperation between the US and the USSR in the peaceful exploration of space. The Russians may conclude that their first tentative approaches toward joint space research have been rash. Any progress made by the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, to which both countries belong, would be compromised. More serious is the possibility that the USSR will be tempted to reciprocate with some experiment of its own, when, as the Administration anticipates, it holds another series of tests later in the year. The psychology of the arms race to date has been notably that of "follow the leader" and "stay ahead of the follower."

Moreover, the Soviets must have some thoughts about other, less stunning exploitations of space by the US, past and present. As early as August and September of 1958, the US exploded three small atomic bombs over Johnston Island in an experiment that produced artificial radiation belts around the earth. Known as Project Argus, the experiment was kept secret until March 19, 1959, when Hanson Baldwin and *The New York Times* felt that silence was no longer maintaining secrecy. Militarily, the purpose of Project Argus resembled that of the present test. The "spy" satellites Midas I and Samos I were put in orbit in February and October of 1960 respectively. Four such satellites were in orbit until two weeks ago, when two more secret satellites, purpose unannounced, were launched. Late last year, Project West Ford, designed to place 350 million tiny filaments of copper wire in a polar orbit around the earth (and provide the US with a secure means of military communication), was launched despite protests from astronomers all over the world that the belt would interfere with both visual and radio astronomy. A report on the project merely paid lip service to the justice of the protests against secrecy, since the period between its publication and the launching was too short to allow adequate evaluation by nonmilitary scientists. The belt never formed and there has been no further word about another attempt. The forthcoming geodetic satellite Anna, also a secret military project, but recently declassified, was discussed in these pages earlier ("Satellites and Secrecy," March 26).

The controversy provoked by the announcement of the latest prepared shots into space may have been effectively damped by James A. Van Allen, discoverer of the radiation belts named after him, who has defended the tests as a "magnificent experiment." But the

FOOTNOTES *to the* WEEK

CONGO PREMIER Cyrille Adoula is under domestic political pressure from Interior Minister Cleophas Kamitatu and other potential rivals to get an early solution to the secession of Katanga. If the new round of negotiations between Adoula and Moise Tshombe fails to give promise of agreement on terms for a Congo Constitution, Adoula may soon break loose from US restraints and seek Afro-Asian support for a new military action. Hints of Soviet backing for a militant line in Leopoldville have prompted an SOS from Washington for British and Belgian help in pushing Tshombe toward concessions. —— ADM. ALAN G. KIRK *brings "hard line" anti-Communist credentials to his assignment as Ambassador to Taiwan; but unlike his predecessor, Everett Drumright, who was recently eased out by the President, Kirk is said to have no dogmatic predispositions on what to do next in reshaping US China policy. A former Ambassador to Moscow (1949-52), the Admiral is a friend of both Averell Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, and Presidential advisor McGeorge Bundy, who served under him in World War II.* —— SIGNALS GOT CROSSED in South Vietnam last week when two US prisoners were set free by the Viet Cong. While a spokesman of the Ngo Dinh Diem government was giving his official account of the rescue mission that had purportedly wrested them from Communist hands, the GI's themselves were telling newsmen of their release and of their civil treatment while captives of the guerrillas. On the advice of the US Embassy in Saigon, the White House certified on May 1 that the men had been freed by South Vietnam troops, and President Kennedy went on record with a personal congratulatory message to President Diem. —— WALTER REUTHER *has a plan for allaying rank-and-file protectionist sentiment generated by foreign automotive competition. His Executive Board voted to recommend a $1.5 million UAW aid program for union organizing abroad. Most of the new fund would go to the International Metalworkers Federation to help push up foreign wages – and prices.* —— ECONOMIC ADVISERS told President Kennedy back in January, 1961, that if he wanted to cut unemployment substantially he would have to increase government spending by something like $10 billion – and unbalance the Eisenhower budget for fiscal '62 by about this amount. Kennedy rejected this advice as politically untenable, aiming instead at a deficit first of $2.169 billion (the estimate of Budget Director David Bell), and later scaling this upward (October 26, 1961) to $6.9 billion. According to authoritative present estimates, the budget will turn out to be between $9 and $10 billion out of balance.

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director of the Jodrell Bank Radio Astronomy Observatory, Sir Bernard Lovell, has said that the project fills with dismay "all scientists who are searching for a basic understanding of the solar system." And Dr. Martin Ryle, an astronomer at Cambridge University, has deplored "the fact that it is being done without international consultation." Natural forces might take a century to reconstitute the belt. The value of this unparalleled modification of the space environment in the vicinity of earth is greatly restricted by the speed and secrecy with which the present tests have been prepared. Scientists not engaged in the project, and who might have monitored the Johnston Island shots as scientific rather than military experiments, have had little time to get ready. In fact, scientists within the project have had only about five months to prepare the entire series; and the US has no satellite in orbit to monitor them, as it had for Project Argus.

Before experiments of such wide and unpredictable import are carried out, it would seem prudent to consult with as many of the world's scientists as possible. One would have expected a "magnificent experiment" to be prepared with more "deliberate speed."

Billie Boy from Pecos

Several years ago the Junior Chamber of Commerce named Billie Sol Estes one of the 10 outstanding young men of America. Now he is a little older, but he has become more outstanding. Billie's big financial empire, huge even by Texas standards, has collapsed. It's a case of a country boy from Pecos, one of the driest parts of the state, who was clever enough to tap the big note discounters and other cashiers of installment paper in Chicago and New York for millions. Billie Sol took the slickers. But as more of the facts are becoming known, there is a possibility this grotesque episode may become a major scandal. High officials of the Agriculture Department are already involved.

Billie Sol had a thumb in many pies but chiefly in three kinds. He had immense storage facilities in which he warehoused grain on government account under the price support program of the Agriculture Department; and this was an enterprise that ran into millions of dollars. He also sold ammonia fertilizer tanks to cotton farmers by the tens of thousands – all apparently on credit and in such a way that it *paid* the farmers actual cash money to buy those tanks from Billie Sol. This is the side of his operations that has pained numbers of Eastern financiers, who discounted his installment paper. Finally, he traded in cotton allotments – and this is what has stirred up some dust in Washington.

Under the current price-support program for cotton, the crop is grown on allotments, or licensed acreages of cropland. Cotton raised on unlicensed land is subject to heavy penalties. These allotments are registered in the names of the farmers who hold title to them, and the lists are kept in the various county offices of the Agriculture Department throughout the cotton country. To protect the interests of the allotment holders, the law provides that should any land so licensed be taken by an exercise of the right of eminent domain by any local, state or federal government – for roadbuilding, airports, river improvements or other public facilities –the allotment "right" can be transferred, at the option of the farmer, to any other land of his choice. But he is expressly forbidden to sell it; such allotments are in law rights granted to the original farmer to grow a specified acreage of cotton for full benefits under the support program.

Billie Sol worked out an ingenious scheme for circumventing the Department of Agriculture's desire to protect the family farmer. He collected the names of farmers whose allotment rights had been disconnected from the land and offered to sell them other acreage to which they could attach those same allotments. His conditions of sale, however, were peculiar. All of his mortgages ran for very short terms, about four instead of the usual 20 years, and the payments were so high that few farmers could meet them. The normal procedure in these cases was that Billie Sol would foreclose the mortgage before it was due; and thus take title to the allotment along with the property. What justified Billie's trouble in searching records and foreclosing cotton acres all over West Texas was the fact that four to five times as much cotton can be grown under irrigation, in large consolidated plantings, than by the run of small southwestern farmers on poor land.

Billie Sol was a big doer in a quiet way in politics. He contributed persistently, and generously, to the campaign chests of his favorite politicians, who appear to have been "liberal" Democrats one and all. Don Yarborough (though no relation of the Senator, a candidate of the same political outlook) received a good sized nugget of Estes cash. So did the Democratic National Committee. And Billie Sol had a habit of buying expensive clothes for his friends even if they happened to be important employees of the US Department of Agriculture. Two of these have just left the Department, and another is under investigation by the FBI.

Most embarrassing to Secretary Orville L. Freeman is the fact that he appointed Billie Sol to the Department's Cotton Advisory Council last July, on the recommendation of Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Although Billie's wheeling and dealing in cotton allotments came under suspicion in the Department at about the same time, and he was fined $42,000 for growing more cotton than his allotments allowed last October, his appointment was reaffirmed in November.

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What those who are unversed in the technicalities of the price support programs do not know is that such penalities are like library fines in farm country. They are supposed to take the profits out of an otherwise innocent activity. They are not criminal imposts.

The Republican Party – its full delegation in the Congress, with the formal concurrence of former President Eisenhower – has demanded a thorough investigation. They may get it, and if they do, the odds are that Senator McClellan of the Government Operations Committee, the man who gave Robert F. Kennedy a chance to show his stuff against the likes of Jimmy Hoffa, will again preside.

Falling Bodies?

For the first time, on April 11, the Field Poll showed Pat Brown running ahead of Richard Nixon in the race for Governor of California – Brown 45 percent, Nixon 42 percent, 13 percent undecided. Yet Democratic leaders are still far from confident they can beat Nixon and only mildly hopeful that State Senator Richard Richards of Los Angeles can defeat Senate Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel – even should Nixon go down. Governor Brown did not gain on the latest count; he went ahead because five percent of Nixon's previous support shifted to the "undecided" column. Nevertheless, Brown is enjoying an unusual advantage: Southern California Democrats, addicted to feuding, are for the most part united; the Southern California Republican organization is not. Since 40 percent of California's registered voters live in the South, this is no small matter for the Republican challenger. With Democrats outnumbering Republicans three to two on official registration rolls, a victorious statewide Republican candidate must hold almost all Republican voters in addition to taking some of the Democratic votes.

The Kennedy Administration took a hand this year in choosing as Democratic state chairman for Southern California Eugene Wyman, a young lawyer and peacemaker. To transform intra-party quarrels from public brawls to private argument, Wyman created a "Koffee Kabinet" that meets in his Beverly Hills living room. Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, now the key Kennedy operator in the whole of the state, sits down peaceably with Tom Carvey, president of the 70,000-member California Democratic Council – a volatile liberal group hitherto anathema to Unruh, a skilled "fixer" who managed the redistricting of Congressional seats to assure an almost certain gain of 6-9 members for the Democrats in the 88th Congress.

Los Angeles Republicans also have a new chairman, Julius Leetham, a lawyer who, though neutral between Nixon and his primary rival, is widely considered anti-Nixon. Leetham has been uncooperative about releasing local funds for Nixon's campaign and the Los Angeles headquarters is the scene of daily skirmishing between Nixonites and Republicans who resent Nixon's attacks on the John Birch Society. The welcome withdrawal of the supposedly stronger of Nixon's primary opponents – former Governor Knight – has not left Nixon an open road to the nomination. Joe Shell, the tall, handsome, ex-football player who serves as Republican floor leader in the State Assembly, has started such a brushfire among "conservatives" that political experts give him a chance to win as many as one-third of GOP votes cast in the June 5 primary. Nixon will need to reestablish rapport with Shell's backers after the primary.

How deep is the former Vice President's dilemma? Senator Kuchel's flat declaration of independence of the Nixon candidacy suggests that it may be deep indeed. The Assistant Senate Minority Leader is trying to "stay out of the way of falling bodies," NBC-TV has commented, in order to retain, if he can, the support he has had from Democratic elements – among organized labor and Jewish groups in Los Angeles, for example. The Democrats are striving meanwhile to force Nixon to alienate the Right even further by disavowing the admitted Birchite, Rep. John Rousselet, who is running on the ticket with the former Vice President.

"It's a Round World."

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Malraux Comes to Dinner

André Malraux was the honored guest at a White House dinner on May 11. Unthinkable? Two years ago, perhaps, but now just another illustration that, as Thornton Wilder remarked last week, under the patronage of the Kennedys the "image" of the poet and artist as an esteemed citizen is reaching across the nation.

Malraux is one of two men, André Gide wrote in his journals, "whose intellect I cannot always follow and who leave me mentally exhausted after I talk to them." His versatility is dazzling: one such as he who aimed at "turning the widest possible experience into conscience" could not be limited to a single role, nor by a single way of life. He who stated in *The Chestnut Trees of Altenburg* that "Man is not what he hides of himself, but what he accomplishes," could not only observe life. As a young man, he explored Indo-China's hidden temples and lectured on art. Thirty years before Western writers began debating "political involvement," Malraux was participating in the revolutionary events of Canton and Shanghai. In 1936, he organized and led volunteer aviation in defense of the Spanish Republic. He himself flew.

In 1940, as a tank commander, he escaped death by a miracle. He was gravely wounded, taken prisoner by the Germans, escaped, made prisoner again, escaped again. He became a Resistance hero under the name of Colonel Berger and led French guerrillas operating in the center of France, using tactics he had learned earlier in China and Spain.

As Minister of Information in de Gaulle's first government, Malraux helped to construct the Gaullist grouping that was to be "above parties." But before long, he had wearied of the Republic's petty politics and had told de Gaulle: "You led us to the Rubicon, but it was only so that we could fish in it." He went back to writing. Then, in May, 1958, when de Gaulle returned, Malraux re-entered the government.

As Minister of Cultural Affairs, he has given new life to the *Comedie Française* and revived the all-but-dead *Opera Comique*, disregarding conservative protests that it should play nothing but 19th Century "Boudoir" pieces. He has had treasures of the Louvre Museum taken out of cellars where they have been hidden for a century and put on display. Now he is busy trying to transform French museums from art galleries into true cultural centers, modeled somewhat along the lines of American museums.

Like many other European and American writers, Malraux in the late Twenties was attracted to Communism. He thought it capable of "giving man his true fertility back, through fraternity." He was a friend of Gorki and Eisenstein, but Trotsky said of *Man's Hope* (Malraux's novel about Spain): "A shot of Marxism would solve his problems." He fought for revolutionary causes because "he would have fought for what seemed at the time to bear the greatest meaning, the widest hope." It was the German-Soviet pact that marked the end of his relations with the Communists. Today his books are forbidden in all Communist countries. He himself says: "I have not changed my belief, the Communists have changed theirs," and he adds: "When André Gide and I went to Berlin to ask the Nazis to spare Dimitroff, we did not do it so as to fight for another police state."

For the French, he discovered William Faulkner and Dashiell Hammett, and wrote about them. His first novel, *The Royal Way* is, after 30 years, still a poignant documentary of Cambodia. His later novels, *Man's Fate* and *Man's Hope*, are among the finest literary expressions of our age. But beyond literature, he searches in art for the answer to death: "No one can keep from dying, but only man can consciously give his life . . . If the world has no meaning precisely because it has none, all its derision cannot prevail against the humblest act of justice, heroism and love."

Labor and the Vote

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education is taking a new tack in its campaign to elect pro-labor candidates. This year it will spend upwards of $1 million simply on getting people registered – especially the uneducated, low-income transients who normally don't vote. In 1960, the un-registered numbered 2.3 million in New York City, 641,000 in Chicago, and something like 40 percent of the electorate in most other big cities. The registration drive will be under the supervision of Roy Reuther, the vigorous, astute political action director of the United Auto Workers.

One reason for the new approach (successfully tried on a small scale in 1960) is that COPE is allowed to spend union dues on "non-partisan" activities such as voter registration, whereas it can support specific candidates only from special voluntary political funds which are hard to raise.

The other reason for the switch is the apparent faith that if low-income voters will only vote, they will vote "pro-labor" even if not subjected to AFL-CIO pamphleteering. In practical terms, this means the unions are tying themselves more than ever to the Democratic Party, for which most of the newly registered citizens, especially Negroes and Puerto Ricans, are expected to cast their ballots.

This decision may reflect permanent disillusionment with endorsements of specific candidates (which often hurt candidates as much as they help); or it may reflect temporary enthusiasm for the Kennedy Administration and a desire to give the President a working Congressional majority.

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Religion in Its Place

So long as churches "mind their business," they are permitted to be privileged sanctuaries. When they forget their place and presume to judge us, they get into trouble. In New Orleans, Archbishop Rummel's residence is picketed, because of his order to desegregate Roman Catholic schools. In Phoenix, Arizona, the attack takes another turn, as the case of the Rev. Dr. Charles R. Ehrhardt illustrates.

Once a Navy Chaplain and for years pastor of a prominent church in New Jersey, Dr. Ehrhardt last December accepted an invitation to come to First Presbyterian in Phoenix. Several days after his first sermon, the following conversation took place:

Secretary (after firmly closing the door): "I want to warn you what they're saying about you. I think you should know."

Dr. Ehrhardt: "Who are they?"

Secretary: "After church service on Sunday I stood outside. A prominent doctor asked several people in the group: 'I suppose you all know about the background of our new pastor. I have it on good authority that he was the number one Communist back East. He was sent here especially by the National Council of Churches to indoctrinate us in Communism'."

During the next several weeks, members of the congregation received mimeographed material attacking the pastor; most of it was unsigned. He was subjected to obscene, anonymous telephone calls. The lay governing board of the church thereupon called an extraordinary service at which the pastor spoke of his own background, of the relationship between the denomination and the Council of Churches, of the right of ministers to deal with social questions. When it was over, a few families left First Presbyterian. Others joined. Dr. Ehrhardt is still there.

Similar incidents have ended less happily. The Southwest and Southern California have proved to be especially hostile to ministers who take the "social gospel" seriously. In such places, the head of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, finds an audience for his remarkable claim that "the largest single bloc of Communists in America is in the Protestant clergy," and that even in the Catholic priesthood "one half of one percent are com-symps."

A cursory inspection of the current attacks, insofar as they involve Protestant churches, shows something curious: it is the old-line denominations belonging to the National Council of Churches which are coming in for most of the right-wing criticism. The Council is no more than a cooperative agency established by the 33 major orthodox Protestant denominations representing about 40 million constituents. It lays down no political line. But the affiliated denominations, whatever their differences in theology, ceremonials, and social or ethnic background, agree that the gospel of Christ has a bearing on social relations – and there's the rub, for social relations encompass many things, from race relations to foreign relations. The clergyman speaks his convictions. There's a stir in the crowd. The alarm is rung. And among the alarmists are many of the same church-goers who cheered when the words "under God" were added to the Pledge of Allegiance.

HOW FAR CAN THE ALLIANCE GO IN APPEASING FRANCE?

De Gaulle Alone

London

However exiguous their concrete results, the talks between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan again showed the closeness of US and British thinking on the major problems facing the West. There are still important differences between London and Washington on the military strategy and organization of NATO, and on the conditions which should govern Britain's proposed entry into the Common Market. But these differences by their narrowness serve only to emphasize the far wider gulf now separating Anglo-American attitudes from those of West Germany and France. No doubt the spectacular pageantry surrounding Chancellor Adenauer's prospective visit to President de Gaulle, probably in July, is intended by the latter to present the Bonn-Paris Axis as a direct rival to the entente between London and Washington. But the fact is that on the questions that matter most, Adenauer is still closer to Kennedy than to de Gaulle. Above all, the West German Chancellor recognizes that his country has no alternative to NATO for her military defense. Moreover his political position at home is far weaker than de Gaulle's. His government is now dependent on votes from the right-wing Free Democrats, and his own party is already actively searching for

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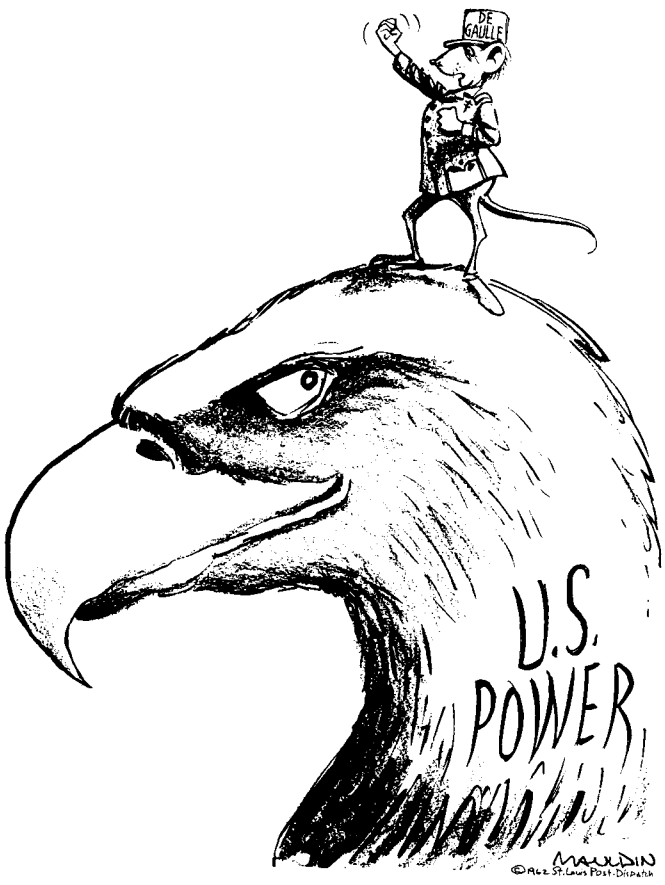
someone younger to succeed him as its next leader.

De Gaulle, on the other hand, has just proved his power by winning a crushing majority in the referendum on Algeria and by imposing on a reluctant Assembly a Prime Minister, M. Pompidou, whose only political qualification is his personal friendship with the great man. For it is still accepted universally in France that no one but de Gaulle can lead the country through the frightening year or two which must still pass before the Algerian settlement is completed and the mutinous *colons* have been reabsorbed into metropolitan France.

Meanwhile de Gaulle is likely to oppose the fundamental elements of alliance policy at every point. Inside the Common Market he is threatening to hold up further progress in economic integration unless the other five governments capitulate to his demands for a political arrangement designed to perpetuate French hegemony inside Europe and separate Western Europe as a whole from the United States. And while his public utterances on the question are characteristically sibylline, it seems increasingly probable that he has instructed his representatives in Brussels to prevent Britain's entry into the Common Market.

Though he uses France's membership in NATO to press his personal policies and to obstruct those of which he disapproves, he is making scarcely any contribution toward NATO's military strength either at land or sea. Finally he is rigidly against negotiating with the Soviet Union on disarmament or on any issue affecting Europe until France's military strength is so much increased that she herself is in a position to lead the negotiations.



De Gaulle's attitude toward East-West talks has had little importance till now – indeed in some ways it has assisted Western diplomacy by allowing President Kennedy's representatives to explore Soviet intentions without committing the rest of the alliance. But now that Khrushchev seems more prepared for serious negotiation on Berlin, the other NATO powers will have to decide whether to buy de Gaulle's cooperation by giving him what he wants, or to proceed without him at the risk that he may walk out of the alliance altogether.

The advantages of trying to appease de Gaulle are not obvious. All the other European countries bitterly oppose his demand for a tripartite political directorate of NATO, which would reduce Germany and Italy to the status of small powers and eliminate the other allies from all political influence. Accepting his demand for atomic weapons for France might wreck whatever chances there are of agreement with Khrushchev, since it would lay the foundation for making Western Germany too an atomic power. Moreover since de Gaulle wants atomic weapons in order to assert French independence of her allies, far from buying his cooperation, it might further fortify his intransigence.

Thus the only policy with any prospect of success is to ignore de Gaulle's demands so long as he refuses to act as a member of the Western Alliance. Since his contribution is now so small, the West would lose little if he withdrew it altogether. The only field where his anger might prove more dangerous than his indifference is the Common Market – and particularly Britain's application for entry. But here again, people are beginning to wonder whether French policy could be much more obstructive than it is. More and more de Gaulle's behavior has turned Britain's application into a contest between Britain and France for the support of the other Common Market countries. So long as France meets her minimal obligations to the Common Market as it is, the other five countries are bound in the last resort to side with her rather than with Britain; but it would only require a small further stiffening of French policy to produce the reverse result. Though de Gaulle's political bargaining power inside France will remain overwhelming until the Algerian problem is settled and the country is satisfied of the Army's loyalty to the state, he has himself so far reduced his bargaining power with his allies as to allow them to ignore his demands with relative impunity.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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Report from a Troubled Colony

In this far corner of the world, a real shooting war few observers expected has exploded. It was less than a year ago that London installed hard-lining Tom Gage as military governor and rushed in thousands of troops to guarantee order. Since this police action was taken, conditions in the colony have grown worse. The commercial life of this port city has been injured, a high rate of unemployment feeds discontent, and the presence of so many soldiers stirs up resentment among the natives. Investment prospects have been wiped out. It has not been a well-known fact abroad, but the rebels have held virtual control over the countryside. Only well-armed detachments of troops leave the city with any great security.

British intelligence two weeks ago received reports that there was a large build-up of arms and materiel at a spot only 20 miles from this tense capital city. Fearing an all-out attempt to cut off the city, Gage decided to converge on this staging area, destroy the arms and capture the rebel leaders. On April 18 at 10:30 p.m. a crack force of 500 marines and 11 other regiments under the command of Lt. Col. Francis Smith moved out. We boarded landing craft which moved up the placid moonlit river to the back country. I rode with Marine Major Pitcairn, a combat veteran, who knew the country well and had two loyal local guides at his side. The river was in "young flood," and we had to disembark in marshes and wade ashore. Surprise was a crucial element in the operation, but the local terrorist organizations appear to know everything.

By one o'clock our column was fully underway. We forded streams rather than cross bridges and risk detection. Everyone encountered was taken prisoner. After crossing the Menotomy River, an advance column captured two men. On interrogation one confessed that he had been sent out to warn of the advance. The column was halted. Shortly thereafter we heard distant firing and saw a signal flare. Smith asked headquarters to have reinforcements stand by.

Before dawn we reached the outskirts of a settlement. There was a crowd gathering in the dim light. Pitcairn ordered his men to start on the double toward the village. The sound of rifle fire was heard, then screams and the crowd scattered, leaving only bodies in the square. There were no government casualties.

With the sun just up, the command was given to move on the main guerrilla staging area immediately. Our forces quickly arrived at the arms cache where they first cut down a pathetic flag on a so-called "liberty pole." Across a river rebel units were forming on high ground to the north. As smoke began to rise from the area, Smith moved part of his forces to the north bridge which spanned the river. Firing began, the first shot missed a correspondent of the *Times* but was later alleged to have been heard around the world (the rebels have a remarkable adeptness in propaganda). Outnumbered, we began an orderly retreat. A great mob of rebels rushed out, the first seen in the open, but this wild tactic cut down their effectiveness.

Smith regrouped our badly split forces, but had to give them rest as they were exhausted from the night march and battle. By 12 o'clock he gave the order to pull out, sending out flankers parallel to the line of retreat. The struggle back was one constant ambush; guerrillas fired on us from every side. Only their lack of organization and good weapons prevented a massacre. Pitcairn's horse was shot from under him and he was captured. Smith was wounded in the leg. Government troops began to run.

General Percy had moved from the city and linked up with the returning remnants of our expedition. He used his artillery to delay the rebels and burned everything in sight. But we were not safe until we reached the broad plain of the main river and limped back into the city. The rebels now control the outlying districts, and they are on the hills which overlook the city.

Many members of the press who stayed at headquarters treat this incident as simply more terrorist activity; but the situation is graver than that. In my opinion the date of April 19, when the first soldier fell at that north bridge, was the date of no return. A dangerous nationalism that knows no bounds is sweeping this colony. The comment in Parliament by the Earl of Sandwich about the "raw, undisciplined, cowardly men" has been disproved, and the terrorist organization has shown that it can fight. Small guerrilla forces could tie down our forces for years.

Certain facts must be faced. Great Britain's image has been severely damaged. The rebel success has brought waverers over to the revolutionists. Refugees who arrive in the city are mainly the rich, the large landholders who have good reason to be loyal. With a hot war raging elsewhere between France and Britain, French intervention is a real possibility here. The tragic element is that all this need not have happened. The hard line backfired. The Army was ill-prepared for this type of combat, and the rural population appears solidly behind the rebels. Looking into the future one can see only chaos; these people are not ready to govern themselves. On the other hand unless the strict policies of the Crown are somehow reversed, I would venture to predict that royal forces may well be thrown out of Boston and possibly out of all North America.

IMPERTINAX

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That's Why, Caroline

Out of the mouths of babes cometh the $64 question. Caroline Kennedy, observing the pickets in front of the White House, asked, "What has Daddy done wrong now?" It is the question that haunts millions.

It is obvious that the gravamen of Daddy's offending is in being there at all, but just try to explain that to Caroline. For that matter, just try to explain it to me!

I am aware, of course, that Daddy is but a sinful man, and the righteous had decided that the White House should be occupied by the saintly Mr. Nixon, he who is clean as a hound's tooth, never suspected of having accepted slush funds from oil and real estate interests, never suspected of having won an election by smearing his opponent with slanderous implications, never suspected of having aided and abetted McCarthyism, and suspected only by Alger Hiss of having framed Alger Hiss. If he insinuated that Harry S. Truman is a traitor, didn't the righteous receive the insinuation with applause?

It was Caroline's Daddy who stepped in and prevented the elevation to the White House of this paragon of virtue. After that, it is useless to ask, "What has he done wrong?" The relevant question is, "What can he do right?" As regards the righteous who supported Nixon, the answer is: nothing.

The explanation is that whatever he does is wrong because he does it. When Eisenhower stepped in to persuade the steel unions to moderate their demands for higher wages on condition that the industry would moderate its demands for higher profits, it was an act of wise statesmanship meriting the support of all patriots; but when Caroline's Daddy did the same thing, it was merely a glorious opportunity to get this intrusive person in bad with organized labor.

When Eisenhower discovered that certain so-called friends had run out on him, leaving him holding the bag, his indignation was deemed just and proper. The dignity of the country requires that no one shall double-cross the President of the United States with impunity.

But when Caroline's Daddy slapped down industrial tycoons who, he believed, had ratted on him, it was an act of tyranny worthy only of a dictator. The dignity of the country is *hors concours* because this is not a rightful President, seeing that he was elected by the wrong people. He is merely the Young Pretender and if, unfortunately, he occupies the throne, that doesn't entitle him to the respect of adherents of the King Over the Water (Mississippi water).

When some of Eisenhower's dumb clucks planned and carried on for a year and a half an idiotic project for the invasion of Cuba, and Caroline's Daddy, learning of it at the last minute, did not act quickly enough and strongly enough to stop it, all the blame for the awful bust that followed falls on him. The people who cooked up the scheme and set it in motion are excused because they were working for the anointed, not exactly of the Lord but of the Right People, not for a Democrat untouched by any sacred unguent.

When the confused diplomacy of Dulles during the Suez affair ended by aligning us with Nasser and the Arabs, it may have been unfortunate, but Eisenhower had to support him because honor compelled us to adhere to our pledged word, and the incident proved how honorable Eisenhower is. But in the Syrian affair, when Stevenson adhered to our pledged word and was supported at the White House, it proved that Caroline's Daddy is anti-Semitic.

So the answer to Caroline's question, "What has Daddy done wrong now?" is simple. It is: whatever he has done.

But it isn't childish simplicity, therefore it cannot be expected to satisfy Caroline. Nor will it satisfy those of us who, although no longer children, are too simple-minded to follow the tortuous reasoning by which the Right People absolve themselves of any obligation to respect, much less to support, Caroline's Daddy.

Some of us, indeed, are inclined to think that the Right People themselves elected him because they assured his election when they put up Nixon to run against him. Hence he is indubitably their President as much as he is the President of the rest of the country. He is admittedly a Democrat. He is admittedly untouched by any holy oil administered by the College of Tycoons. He is, perhaps, even as they contend, a non-Republican living in a Republican's house.

Nevertheless, he is the only President they have, and during the next three years all of us are likely to have great need of a President who is not only strong, but looks strong to the rest of the world, especially to our unfriends overseas. So why not make the best of what we have? Which is not accomplished by asserting doubt of the validity of his authorship, here or abroad.

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KENNEDY'S BEHAVIOR IN THE STEEL CRISIS

In his article in our April 30 issue, Professor Charles Reich of Yale University Law School argued that the President used unnecessarily stringent tactics in forcing the steel companies to rescind their proposed price increases. While recognizing that the government has an obligation to act for the public interest when that interest is directly affected by decisions of large corporations, he said that if anti-monopoly or price-fixing laws had been violated, then this was so whether or not the companies agreed with the President. If no law had been broken, then Mr. Kennedy's efforts to force adherence to his economic policy were improper. "Will business now come crawling to government to seek its pleasure?" he asked." And what is more important, will individual citizens fear to disagree with 'national policy'?" Comments on his views follow.

The Uses of Presidential Power

Replies to the Forebodings of Professor Reich

Sirs:

Professor Charles A. Reich contends that the President's victory in his "short war against steel" may have "advanced peace and plenty but it did no service to freedom."

The President is criticized for seeking to mobilize public opinion against the steel price increase. Here two questions are relevant: Is there adequate precedent for this use "of the spotlight of publicity" and, second, did the circumstances involved in the steel price increase justify its use?

It is a little known fact that influencing corporate behavior by making the public aware of essential economic facts has been part of our public policy since the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations at the turn of the century. In 1914 these powers were strengthened and vested in the newly-created Federal Trade Commission, which over the years has made numerous investigations and reports bearing on the reasonableness of prices. Similar activities have been carried out by several Presidents under the inherent powers of the Chief Executive. Between September, 1939, when the Germans invaded Poland and February, 1942, when the OPA Act was finally passed, prices were stabilized in many industries on a purely voluntary basis through the vigorous exercise of "jawbone price control." The actions taken under the general authority of the President included public criticisms of specific price actions, issuance of data on costs, prices and profits, and even the establishment of voluntary price ceilings. For example, when in April, 1941, the steel companies put into effect a 16 percent wage advance, the Office of Price Administration, to forestall an expected price increase, issued a schedule freezing steel prices at the levels which had prevailed during the first quarter of 1941. This action, it should be noted, took place nearly a year before any price control legislation was enacted and eight months before America entered the war. Again, during the Korean emergency President Truman, prior to the enactment of price control legislation, made repeated appeals to industry "to hold the price line." Similar appeals were made to labor and the steel companies by President Eisenhower at a time when the effect of steel price increases upon our national security interests was far less serious than under present conditions.

This leaves the question of whether the circumstances of the steel price rise justified the President's effort to mobilize public opinion. As was obvious from his press conference, the President was most alarmed over its national security aspects, particularly the effect on our already difficult balance-of-payments problem. Between 1954-56 and 1960 the US share of the world iron and steel export market fell from 20 percent to 12.5 percent. Had this decrease not occurred, our iron and steel exports in 1960 would have been $400 million larger than they were, or nearly one-quarter of the gold drain in that year. Had the recent steel price increase remained in effect, our foreign markets would have suffered further decreases not only for steel but for the numerous products in which steel is used. Our ability to compete with the Communist countries and the new European Common Market would have been seriously jeopardized.

Moreover, a steel price rise would certainly have set

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off another round of inflation at home. By the time it had passed through the various stages of production a $6 a ton increase in steel would have been translated into $60-80 more for an automobile, $90 more for a tractor and so on, which in turn would have induced labor unions to seek even larger wage increases, leading to still higher prices, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Against these consequences, the industry's protestations that the price rise was needed to cover higher costs and to permit modernization appear surprisingly weak. In terms of costs there is no occasion for any price advance whatever since under the recent wage settlement the increase in employment costs, 2.5 percent, is even *less* than the industry's annual increase in manhour productivity of approximately 3.5 percent a year. As to the need for modernization, the steel companies have never explained why it is the consumer and not the investor who should supply their capital, particularly during these days when a large proportion of the populace is spending much of its time trying to find good stocks to buy.

It should thus be clear that the President's actions were well founded on his inherent authority to inform the people, for which he had both adequate precedent and a compelling occasion. To say this, however, is not to imply that these powers are adequate to deal with the type of problem posed by the steel industry. This is the problem of the highly concentrated, "administered price" industry whose producers do not compete with each other in price, who are not responsive in their price policies to changes in supply and demand, and who have generally been able to establish high enough price levels to yield satisfactory profits at low levels of operation.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the treatment of the steel industry was episodic and lacking in standards. The need is very real for a systematic and regularized approach not only to steel but to the other administered-price industries which differ from steel only in that they are of less strategic importance to the economy as a whole.

But the fact that we are without a more systematic approach does not mean that in dealing with a particular problem, such as the steel price rise, the choices available to the President are to do nothing or to await the passage of new legislation. In addition to informing the people he can also take actions based on existing legislation, such as the antitrust laws.

In Professor Reich's article each phase of the President's action is played upon to support a conclusion of disservice to freedom. An illustration is the criticism of the Department of Justice's antitrust investigation of the steel industry in spite of the fact that "follow-the-leader pricing has been a steel industry practice for decades." What Professor Reich fails to note is the new character of price leadership and price followership which has been conspicuously manifested only in very recent years. If he will observe the price history of the industry between World War I and World War II, he will find that it was generally downward. When prices are being reduced by a large producer, it is obviously necessary for competitors to meet the lower prices if they are to remain in business. Professor Reich will also find that from World War II to the middle fifties demand for steel was usually in excess of supply. The acceptance of the leader's price in a sellers' market can be interpreted as an act of abstention on the part of rival producers who could charge even higher prices and still operate at full capacity. In both sets of circumstances there are other plausible explanations besides conspiracy for price identity.

What is new in steel industry pricing is the action by the major producers in raising their prices at about the same time by the same amount to the same exact level *in the face of substantial unused capacity*. In view of this new character of price leadership and price followership in the nation's basic industry, it is indeed proper for the antitrust agencies to consider whether the price rise was the result of a conspiracy or the undue exercise of monopoly power.

These very issues were examined in detail by the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee in hearings following the 1958 steel price increase, at which time the industry was operating at less than 60 percent of capacity. Judge Victor Hansen, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division during the Eisenhower Administration, advanced the novel concept that the steel companies might have agreed on the price rise by communicating with each other through the media of articles in the press. Again, when a steel price increase was threatened last year, a number of Senators, including myself, took the floor of the Senate on August 22 and called attention to the antitrust implications of a price rise when a third of the industry's capacity remained idle.

In several sessions of hearings before the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee noted economists have outlined a variety of possible alternative public policies, such as stronger antitrust laws (including more workable means of securing dissolution), direct government price regulation, the formalizing of the "spotlight of publicity" approach through notification of proposed price increases and public hearings, and the suggestion by Dr. Gardiner Means of rewarding corporate managers in accordance with the degree to which the behavior of their corporations accords with desirable standards of economic performance.

But until the day when one of these approaches (or some other solution) is adopted and implemented by effective legislation, the endangering of the public in-

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terest by the abuse of concentrated private power, whether of capital, labor or any other group, demands the use of the powers presently at the President's disposal. As long as he continues to limit himself, as he did in the steel crisis, to enforcing the existing laws and bringing the facts to the people, it is my hope that these powers will be used with greater rather than less frequency.

Estes Kefauver
United States Senate

Sirs:

In its issue of the 27th, the *Christian Science Monitor* points out that "Big Steel" sold about 38 percent more steel products in the first three months of this year than in the like period of 1961, adding: "Significantly, the increase in profits was nearly 75 percent." Yet in the teeth of this large increase in earnings, "Big Steel" raised the price of its product $6 per ton, just after the President had successfully urged its employees to restrict their demands on steel to mere fringe benefits, without increase of wages, to avoid price increase and its resultant inflation, harmful to all.

If the President had "no right" to pressure steel in the interest of the national economy, did he likewise have no right to press labor to restrain its demands? Is the President a mere honorary figure, or should he act in the interest of the whole people within the limits of his powers?

Benjamin H. Kizer
Spokane, Washington

Sirs:

Professor Reich's thoughtful piece on the recent struggle between the President and the steel companies has raised some important questions about the consequences of that "short war." I thoroughly share his concern about the tendency toward irresponsible and arbitrary governmental action, particularly where segments of the government are acting in alliance with powerful interest groups against the rights of other citizens or the interest of the public.

However, I wonder whether his evaluation of the issues of the last few weeks is quite correct. . . . Actually, the danger may be an insufficiency of Presidential power. This, indeed, could lead to the type of irregular and arbitrary action which he fears.

Let's look at the record of relationships between government and steel since 1946. A short matter of months after the end of World War II, there was a deadlock between the industry and labor. President Truman appointed a fact-finding board, but the recommendations made by that board were rejected. A strike followed and increases in both wages and prices ensued. This outcome was a major factor in the dissolution of wage and price controls. There was a second contest in 1949. Again there was a Presidentially-appointed fact-finding board whose recommendation was rejected and again there was a long strike.

In 1952, when the Korean War was in a still menacing state, there was a steel crisis of the first magnitude. Strenuous attempts were made by government to avert a strike that would interrupt production, and ultimately the White House became involved. But the recommendation made by the Presidentially-authorized Wage Stabilization Board was rejected and out of a very complex situation a strike threatened. In the face of a belief that not so much as a single day's steel production could be lost, President Truman took the action of "seizing" the steel mills. But this was halted by the Supreme Court in the *Youngstown* decision and the strike took place. World War III did not occur. With the wisdom of hindsight we can say that all was for the best. However, the conflict of 1952 must rank, for all the good luck the nation had in the outcome, as one of the largest and sharpest confrontations between capital and labor in our history. And, I think it ought to be added, it was a conflict in which the interest of the public was caught squarely in the middle.

1952 marked the end of attempts at Presidential intervention until the current activities of President Kennedy. It is worth noting, however, that in the Eisenhower era there were more struggles between labor and the industry and that these were consistently solved by increases in both prices and wages. It is worth noting also that President Eisenhower was deeply concerned about this.

What emerges from this is *not* a picture of overwhelming power in the Presidency. Until the last few weeks, it would seem that Presidential power was remarkably feeble. President Truman's decision to seize the steel mills was an improvisation resorted to at the very last moment. It came about through the preclusion of alternatives, the internal divisions in the Truman Administration, and the acute fear of what might happen on the Asiatic continent. The alternative choices, including invocation of the Taft-Hartley Act, were much more apparent than real in the very stalemated national and international situation that existed. There is a very great irony in the fact that while the White House was convicted by public opinion of the crime of grasping for unchecked power its genuine guilt consisted in the display of impotence.

President Kennedy's record looks very different on the face of things. Even without the circumstance of a large war, he has succeeded in forcing Big Steel to back down in a very humiliating fashion. However, I believe there are good reasons not to be awed by this display of "naked power," to use a much repeated phrase from the current hysteria. First, let's look at Professor Reich's list of 14 governmental actions. The President denounced the companies. This sort of thing has hap-

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pened before and corporation presidents have survived. Six of the next types of action he cites were investigations. Certainly, investigations can get out of hand. However, it does seem a bit radical to suggest that investigation here was not in order or appropriate. Three of the actions are reports that the Administration was considering legislation. Surely this is not a precipitate type of action. One action was a report of consideration of legal action to break US Steel into several units. Certainly this would involve the courts. Another action was the announcement by the Defense Department that it would deny contracts to offending companies and the award of a contract to a company which had not raised prices. This is hardly unreasonable. Next on the list is the use of informal channels to put heavy pressure on the companies. Just what the pressure consisted of would seem to be the issue here. Last, meetings of high government officials to consider further action took place. Meetings would seem to have been in order.

Of all the items, the most unsavory bit – and I think he is right in emphasizing it – is the use of FBI calls on reporters in the middle of the night. All the same, I have a suspicion that in due time the proper analogy here will turn out to be not the Gestapo but W. C. Fields roughing up a small boy with a water pistol in *The Bank Dick*.

No, the impressive thing about Mr. Reich's list is its sheer length. This in itself would suggest an inadequacy in any of the items. The one really potent factor was the mobilization of public opinion against the companies. And this was dependent on other factors than legal or quasi legal coercion. The show of energy Kennedy made played a part in this, but probably only a minor part. If there is anything to the list which indicates Kennedy power it is the fact that for once a President was able to give the government an appearance of going in one direction at a time. This was a point where Truman failed in 1952. Otherwise, the list suggests Presidential weakness.

Consider what use the President's "victory" can be put to. The outcome has without doubt heightened the prestige element of his power. Yet, there are limits to which this prestige can be used. It simply is not going to be possible for the government to capitalize on the "victory" to dictate industrial and price settlements whenever and wherever it pleases. Perhaps that prestige is good for one or two other settlements, but not many more and even the next few cases of successful governmental intervention are not likely to be very stable. The business community retains its powers of resistance and these are not slight. The prestige gained will largely be useful only so long as it does not have to be tested. If it is tested, it will very soon be spent.

On the whole, then, I would be very surprised if not a few enormous sighs of relief had not been heaved in the White House when US Steel backed down. Public opinion and the economic situation of the industry would seem to have been the critical factors. The comparison with 1952 is a very interesting one in many ways. But the most important way seems to be the degree to which both Truman and Kennedy had to scratch for means of doing anything.

If there are grounds for fear, I suggest they lie in the fact that when confronted with serious and complex problems of this character some future President may scratch rather deeply and find some method that is a good deal worse than anything used in the last few weeks.

Grant McConnell
Department of Political Science
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Sirs:

Professor Reich's deprecation of the President's role in the steel controversy involves some views of constitutionalism and the public interest which leave me startled. Citing the vast powers of the Executive, Professor Reich sees President Kennedy as making indiscriminate use of them – portending future threats to our basic liberties.

While Professor Reich concedes the President's responsibility to set policy and seek its adoption, he denies the right of the President to "force" his policy on an unwilling industry without legislation. Then, if private industry adopts a course considered inimical to the Executive's concept of the public interest the President, lacking their consent to his policy, must acquiesce. Considering "force" to be a naughty prospect and not an ingredient of power, the President is effectively disarmed in his pursuit of the public interest. This frustration of the Presidential purpose does not seem to bother Professor Reich, who insists that, without Congressional action, "in a free society there can be no unitary public interest, no single, authoritatively fixed idea of the 'public good'." It is one thing to say that in a pluralistic society the view of the public interest may become obscured and fragmented. It is quite another to maintain that, in a free society, a distinct public interest does not exist.

In regard to economics, Professor Reich says that "private business and the public have the right to act according to their notion of the public good, until the people's elected representatives decide otherwise." But isn't the President one of the "people's elected representatives"? Why should he have less wisdom in discovering the public interest, or less responsibility to enforce it, then the Legislative Branch? The accretion of Executive power has, I concede, brought a more

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urgent need for restraint; but it hasn't diminished the competence or the responsibility of the President.

Professor Reich declares that the "spirit of our Constitution is the spirit of limitation on all powers, of disinterested enforcement of the laws. . . ." That may be correct, but the balance is not exclusively, nor often most effectively, attained with the written interdiction. The weight of tradition, the ethics of the milieu, have as much constitutional impact as a written law. The threat to liberty and the public interest need not come solely from the government – or from the Executive. The "limitation on all powers" applies to the President of US Steel as well as to the President of the United States. If Professor Reich allows the right of the steel companies to pursue their view of the public interest with the resources at their command, I cannot accept the argument that the President, a public officer charged with a public purpose, should not do the same. To say that it would be improper for the President to use coercion to realize his will, is to say that a public policy is not entitled to the same support as is a private policy.

Granted that the public power is enormous, does this mean that it should not be invoked to defend a public policy? The public power is not an unwieldy bludgeon, incapable of sensitive application. It need not demolish when it touches.

"Disinterested enforcement" does not mean Presidential disinterest in his public program. For this, the President is obligated to be decidedly unneutral.

I think that I'm as concerned for liberties as is Professor Reich. Certainly the unnecessary harassment of individuals is distasteful. But I don't find the weapon of the government contract to be an improper one. These instruments of the government have a public purpose, and they may be used within a constitutional framework which comprehends respect for the rights of individuals. Within that framework the President has the responsibility to act. If he does not, he will deny both his own purpose and the right of the government to govern. If it becomes "improper" to marshal the public power in support of a public policy, then it will have become meaningless – perhaps "improper" – to have a public interest.

Hadley Arkes
Urbana, Illinois

Sirs:

Accepting the legality of the President's actions, the question necessarily arises whether the President is to be restricted in the exercise of his legitimate powers when challenged by one of the country's most powerful industrial groups. Should the President permit himself (and the country) to be outpowered by so powerful a group? As a corollary to Professor Reich's argument, one may well ask whether he suggests that the President's powers be curtailed because he chooses to exercise them against a calculated, provocative challenge.

Who but the President of the United States could "coerce and intimidate" so powerful a group? And if, as Professor Reich correctly states, and as steel well knows, the President had and has no power to fix the price of steel, or to require steel pricing to conform to Administration economic policy, why did steel capitulate?

It is trite to argue that power carries with it responsibility. President Kennedy, in the opinion of many millions, acted responsibly in the situation which confronted him, even if his victory is "disquieting." It is disquieting, apparently, because Professor Reich fears that even the "wise" exercise of the government's power is "frightening." Ergo, the government should never exercise its power because some people are frightened by its strength. This is questionable rhetoric and specious reasoning.

Not only in the steel picture, but thus far in radio, television, drugs, foodstuffs and electrical products, the government has shown its intention to use its powers to curb excesses and to place restrictions on the misuse of the power of capital. This, in my opinion, is a most healthy and essential political and economic development. Such restrictions (and many others) will help to preserve capitalism as the economic base of our society.

Finally, Professor Reich fails to discuss the salutary effect of the President's actions on our foreign relations. Even Russia was confounded.

Joseph Van Gelder
New York, New York

Sirs:

It may be that the *concerted* use of established powers in such a situation will be seen to add a new dimension to the Presidential powers. Nevertheless, to judge Mr. Kennedy's methods by their future significance rather than according to the magnitude of the challenge he faced seems a somewhat sterile exercise. Using Mr. Reich's standards, however, one is constrained not to be as gloomy a prognosticator as he. It is a matter of record that the personality of the man in office rather than the history of prior exercise of power determines the nature of the Presidency. The greatest Presidential innovator in the antitrust field, including the present incumbent, was Theodore Roosevelt. Just as the blank record of TR's predecessors did not halt his decision to take action where he felt action was necessary, so the precedent which he established has hardly been a guarantee of concern in the field among his successors.

The role of the government in "private" bargaining in key industries is not easy to assess or prescribe. Any excess, especially in the exercise of police power such as unwarranted interference by the FBI, must be zealously guarded against. But since the beginning of the century

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we have picked a road between *laissez faire* and paternalism which indicates a predisposition to correct abuse in this field only when abuse is flagrant, to regulate mostly when the economy is strongly challenged. Perhaps this attitude should be changed, but it does not seem that Mr. Kennedy's recent actions will go far to effect such a change.

Joseph S. Lobenthal, Jr.
New York, New York

Sirs:

What is Mr. Reich's gripe? Simply this. He believes himself competent to declare that the Presidential purposes were bad in that the action was taken "primarily for the purpose of intimidating and coercing the steel industry." Now, just exactly why does Mr. Reich think that coercion of the steel industry is bad in these circumstances? A pragmatist would look to the level of prices, inflation and potential economic growth. But Mr. Reich is no pragmatist. He says that "such use of power, whether its objectives are good or bad, is dangerous." Thus, his position boils down to this: (1) the powers the President used were all "legitimate," but (2) he ought not have used them because their use is dangerous, whether the objectives be good or bad. Why dangerous? Because the "spirit of the constitution" requires a "disinterested enforcement of the laws, and only for the exact purposes intended." This is sheer poppycock for two reasons. First, the purposes of the laws which were used are not nearly so clear and unequivocal as Mr. Reich implies, but nowhere clarifies. If the President acted beyond the purpose and scope of his powers, then his action was illegal and not "legitimate" as Mr. Reich admits. Secondly, has anyone disinterestedly enforced the laws to achieve "exact" purposes? Nonsense!

If Mr. Reich does not like this great agglomeration of power in the President's office then he ought to say so. But, he ought to do so on clear intellectual grounds. To say that the President should be concerned only with the "disinterested enforcement of the laws" is spurious. It implies political naïveté on his part. Secondly, it conveniently serves as a cloak protecting Mr. Reich from advancing "the exact purposes" for which Mr. Kennedy should have invoked his powers. If not "to promote the common good," which Mr. Reich rejects, then what purposes would suffice?

Arval Morris
School of Law
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Sirs:

Even Professor Reich seems to concede that the means used by the President were legitimate and the end was consistent with the public good. What worries him most is the potential use of such combined force when the end may not meet with such national acceptance. Who, he asks, is to define the public good? The answer, hopefully, is "The Public."

Our government and economy are made up of varied power centers. The Presidency certainly is one. But Congress and the courts, industry and unions, private and semiprivate agglomerations of wealth all have great potential force. Big Government is a concomitant phenomenon with Big Steel, and the two have been produced by the same forces which evolved big unions. Only because the ends to which President Kennedy's actions were directed met with great national acceptance were his efforts so quickly effective. If there were not a national consensus in support of his position, it is likely that the entire concentration of powers would have failed. Congress would not have cooperated. The inhibiting jurisdiction of the courts might have been invoked. Public reaction would have tempered rather than enforced the President's efforts.

In our pluralistic society we must depend upon the consensus to sanction movement in any direction. Some one force must usually act as the catalyst – and the President performed that function in the "steel crisis." The same role and many of the same means of invoking popular support were available to Big Steel. In fact it did seek by publicized press conferences to turn public opinion in its favor. That the President's efforts were ultimately effective can only be attributed to the fact that his actions reflected the national consensus.

And, at whatever level the situation is explored, it appears that the President acted properly to catalyze the consensus. If not the President, then who is to speak up for the public in matters of consumer interest? The Congress has not yet seen fit to legislate into existence a consumer counsel, as some states have done. In the absence of a designated public official specifically charged with looking after the interests of consumers the President appears the one best qualified. Moreover, in the case of steel the government is the industry's largest customer. Who has better cause to agitate about a price rise than the principal one who must pay it?

In summary, all of the evidence indicates that the events of the recent weeks show a strong President legitimately exercising the proper prerogatives of his office to achieve a desirable end. It does not detract from this conclusion to speculate how such governmental powers might be abused in another context. The parade of horrible possibilities of what *might* happen is hardly a fair way to judge a man of decision fulfilling his job of implementing the national consensus. Big Government may be a matter of legitimate concern, but the handling of the "steel crisis" did not prove it.

James B. Frankel
San Francisco, Calif.

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FULBRIGHT

The Wedding of Arkansas and the World

by Sidney Hyman

Until the deadline for filing on May 2, there was a chance that the warm rain of Texas oil money in its seasonal drift toward Arkansas would draw somebody out of the mud to battle J. William Fulbright for the Democratic Senatorial nomination this year. Several local creatures – combining the worst features of the Birchers, delerious segregationists, bleak fundamentalists, and Poor Richard's Almanac economists – did in fact announce that they were considering a race against Fulbright. But only one finally put his name on the books as a candidate. He is Winston Chandler, a dissident segregationist member of the Pulaski County Rural School Board, and a man who makes a living by hauling trailers. Fulbright will certainly squash him like a bug.

Arkansas politics have few of the institutional features found in the politics of Northern states, and especially those lying East of the Mississippi River. There is no "structured" party hierarchy. As in some other Southern states where the Democrats are all that count, politics is highly personal. The individual politician forms himself into a party *pro tem* and seeks to build around his own person the kind of support he needs to win the Democratic nomination. Whether he succeeds or fails depends in large degree on the value local opinion assigns to his personal "style." (In Arkansas, for example, if a politician speaks from a written text, he arouses the suspicion that somebody not visible is doing the talking through his lips.)

The central problem of the Arkansas politician with a statewide constituency is defined for him by two facts: One is the need to diversify and improve agriculture, while speeding industrialization. The other is the "race problem."

In February of 1957, when the school desegregation crisis broke on the streets outside Central High School in Little Rock, Fulbright was in Europe. He was stunned by everything about the event. Not that he was an "integrationist." Far from it. He had always followed the lead of Senator Russell of Georgia, and had always voted the Southern viewpoint on civil rights issues. He was among the Southern Senators who signed the Southern Manifesto protesting the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. He seemed genuinely convinced that locally generated forces were producing a *controlled* revolution in race relations, and that the Court's decision, in the absence of any agreed upon plan of procedure, would do far more harm locally than good. On the eve of his departure for Europe, he was told that the Little Rock School Board and other local authorities had prepared the psychological climate which would permit token integration of Central High School in the fall. Neither then nor at any previous time did Fulbright have the slightest hint that Governor Faubus would intervene to tear apart the delicate fibres which had been woven to support local assent in the token integration being scheduled. Faubus, in Arkansas terms, was a "liberal" who owed his office to his political patron, Sid McGrath, himself one of the most progressive Governors in Arkansas history.

From his observation point in Europe, Fulbright saw how the affair in Little Rock made for garish headlines in the European press. He was sickened by the extravaganza of violence being reported and by Faubus's seemingly run-away intention of giving encouragement to the very violence he said he meant to control. Fulbright had often spoken about the importance of national style and character as a determinant of America's capacity to win and hold the loyalty of free men. Now, everything he stood for was brought into serious question by Little Rock. By the time he returned to the United States, the moves and countermoves which brought federal troops (under Gen. Edwin A. Walker) to Little Rock had so inflamed local opinion that he felt nothing he could say publicly would do any good. He told a friend that he knew he had to fight Faubus, but it couldn't be done from Washington; it couldn't be done by public speeches; it had to be done at home – and quietly.

Bill Fulbright is not by nature a timid man. Nor would retirement from politics be the end of everything for him. He has from time to time been approached by representatives of major universities, Columbia included, with offers of a Presidency or Chancellorship. In a pinch he could always return to his native city of

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Fayetteville to take over the direction of diversified family interests that include the local newspaper. In any case, his upbringing as the scion of the "first family" of Fayetteville has given him the coolness of the aristocrat confronting the mob – a quality he showed best when the hysteria of McCarthyism was at its height. He was then among the handful of Senators who had the courage to defy Senator McCarthy to his face. Apart from his role in pressing the McCarthy censure vote to a successful conclusion, on an earlier occasion when the Senate had a chance to cripple McCarthy by denying him funds with which to operate, 88 Senators including all the liberals on the scene played it safe by voting to continue his funds; Fulbright cast the only vote to cut them off.

Nonetheless, his public silence at the time of the school desegregation crisis at Little Rock brought him bitter criticism. His liberal friends accused him of cowardice and of being wedded to office; inflamed segregationists in Arkansas damned him as an enemy alien for having failed to acclaim what Faubus had done.

On the liberal side, the criticism continued to run its course despite what had happened to Brooks Hayes. Hayes was a progressive-minded Congressman who had faithfully served his Little Rock constituency for a number of years and was known to Arkansas and the whole South as a lay leader of the Baptist Church. He had tried to put a cooling hand to feverish foreheads, to mediate an agreement between Faubus and President Eisenhower. For his moderation, Hayes lost his seat in the House in 1958 to the tricky write-in candidacy of Dale Alford, a Stone Age man in all things, beginning with segregation and extending from there to economic matters and world affairs. Fulbright's critics in the liberal camp were not of a mind to draw the moral of the Brooks Hayes story.

Fulbright versus Faubus

On the other side, the inflamed segregationists were not satisfied when Fulbright filed a legal brief of his own with the Supreme Court asking for a cooling off period before any further attempt was made to integrate Central High School. By channeling the resistance to integration back into a legal framework, he appeared bent on frustrating those who were calling for a stand to arms and for resistance by direct physical action. These same segregationists were further aroused when they learned that Fulbright, in unpublicized low-key talks around Arkansas to the leaders of agriculture and business, reaffirmed his personal belief in segregation as a current need and reality, but went on to ask a practical question: Did the manner of Faubus' resistance to school desegregation in fact attain the object for which it was framed? He pointed to the way other Southern states like North Carolina had satisfied the federal courts with a formula for token integration, and with virtually no public disturbance.

Despite all the compromises Fulbright made to keep himself in right with local opinion on race relations, his political future was overcast by the mounting prospect that Governor Faubus would challenge his Senate seat and more likely than not win it. If that prospect ultimately vanished, one reason is a certain fatigue in Arkansas with the whole question of school desegregation. (In his most recent trips around the state, Fulbright was never once confronted with a question of where he stood on the matter of school desegregation.) But another reason why the prospect of his defeat vanished lay in the way Fulbright had identified himself as a servant of the urgently felt need to raise the standard of living in Arkansas as a whole.

He had associated himself with the Federal Water Shed Program that leads to flood control dams, small in themselves, but important to communities as a source of electric power. He associated himself with the Federal Water Lands Bill which by helping to preserve the breeding grounds for ducks, has given the Arkansas duck hunting industry a powerful boost. He used his standing with various foreign embassies in Washington to find markets for the "broilers" of the Arkansas poultry industry. He sponsored legislation for the creation of experimental fish farms. He persuaded the federal government to establish two experimental forestry stations on the lands it owns in Arkansas; the improved quality of timber has benefitted not only the whole forestry industry but also its satellites like the paper industry. He supported federal measures to stimulate the export of Arkansas crops with the result that Arkansas agriculture is in a healthy condition for the first time in years. In cotton, the "carryover" of 14 million bales in 1958 has been reduced to a "normal" six to seven million bales. There is no substantial carryover of soy beans, a crop sold largely to Japan on a cash basis outside the framework of any US Government export program. Nor is there any substantial carryover for rice, thanks in great measure to Fulbright's part in helping (with his former administrative assistant John Erickson) to negotiate a long-term agreement for the export to India of one million tons of rice.

Nor could Faubus turn to his personal account any Fulbright tactical blunder in the disputed matter of public versus private power. Fulbright covered both flanks in that fight. Though his friends deny that he has "looked after the interests of the Arkansas Power and Light Company," it is difficult to see why they should be so vehement. Of course he has. He endorsed the Dixon-Yates contract on the ground that as an agreement, it was "not too bad a deal" for the federal gov-

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ernment, and on the privately understood ground that it would mean a huge new power plant for Arkansas. That is called "permissible politics"– a means by which captives of constituencies remain leaders of constituencies. His vote did not differ in any way from the vote of the saintliest of Senators for their own special kind of local interest. In any case, there was the offsetting fact that Fulbright led the fight which thwarted an attempt in the Senate to raise interest rates on loans to cooperatives formed under the Rural Electrification Administration. This did not sit well with the Arkansas Power and Light Company. But as he had served Arkansas Power where their paramount interests were involved, he foreclosed their right to mount a punitive expedition against him because he proceeded to serve the interests of the REA cooperatives.

The Foreign Agenda

The one change in Fulbright that has been noticeable of late has nothing to do with Arkansas, for it involves his personal relations with other members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. When he first assumed the Chairmanship back in 1959, there was scarcely a meeting that was free of personal acrimony. (On one occasion, Fulbright shattered the gavel in his hand while pounding the table to quiet a committee room tumult.) Senator Wiley, a former Republican Chairman of the Committee, resented the presence of any man sitting in the chair he once occupied. Senator Long had taken it in his mind to make war on C. Douglas Dillon, the then Undersecretary of State, and this brought him into conflict with Fulbright, Dillon's close personal friend. With virtually the entire leadership of the Senate being members of the Committee – and this included three known candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Kennedy, Humphrey and Symington, feelings ran high.

All this is a thing of the past. Russell Long has begun to smile again. Presidential aspirants who may be on the Committee know there is no point in trying to bend their Committee position to the 1968 War of Succession. And on top of all these blessings there is the fact that while Senator Wiley is still the ranking Republican from the standpoint of seniority, the power of effective command among the Republicans has passed to Senator Hickenlooper, a Committee member and a newly-elected Chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

As between the two men, Hickenlooper and Fulbright, there is an *entente cordiale* which began early in the Kennedy Administration when Hickenlooper submitted a number of amendments to tighten the Administration's loosely drawn bill creating the Peace Corps. Fulbright could have beaten them. Instead he joined Hickenlooper. The decision has paid off. In a number of critical matters where Hickenlooper's support has been indispensable to the Administration, he has braved an attack from the Radical Right in his own party and has swung enough Republican votes to decide the case in the Administration's favor.

"Fulbright has never once lost his temper in the last year," says a junior Committee member who keeps a record of such matters. "He will never be reconciled fully to human nonsense. But he is more understanding and more forgiving of human crochets than ever before. In most matters, he could now lead the Committee wherever he wanted to go – which is saying something, considering that its membership represents the greatest collection of prima donnas this side of the Metropolitan Opera House."

Fulbright is unlike any of his five predecessors as Chairman. The first of the five, Sen. Tom Connally of Texas, was a prewar relic – comical, imperious, with no coherent grasp of the world born on V-J day. His main energies were spent in defending his personal prestige and prerogatives.

Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, Connally's successor in the two year period of 1947-49, had been on the wrong side of virtually every foreign policy issue before and even during the war. The reputation for sagacity he later came to enjoy was partly due to the Democratic Administration which propagandized Vandenberg's conversion to internationalism as an example to foot-dragging Republican isolationists, and as a shield against them.

Senator Wiley, who held the Chairmanship between 1953-55, was caught in a cross-pull between a desire to be helpful to a President of his own party, and the hostility directed by the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy, toward every facet of Eisenhower diplomacy. Harrassed from the rear in Wisconsin, and with no distinctive moral and intellectual force, Wiley's contribution to American foreign policy was largely confined to prayer meetings.

In 1955 the Chairmanship passed to Walter George, a leader of the Southern conservatives and a powerhouse in the Senate in his former capacity as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Sitting at the head of the Foreign Relations Committee, he had a tendency to look over his shoulder at the gathering threat to his Senate seat posed by Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge. And he had a parallel tendency to look toward President Eisenhower in the hope, perhaps, that their mutual Georgia friends could do something to check that threat.

By the time Sen. Theodore Green became the Chairman, he was well into his eighties and showed it. He would doze off in the middle of testimony, then awake with a start to ask a witness the same question he had

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just put to him before dozing off. Even when he stayed awake, his hearing was so poor that his reactions to things he imagined were being said caused his devoted friends to suffer. Until Lyndon Johnson managed in a most delicate and humane way to bring about Green's retirement from the Chairmanship, the *ex officio* Chairman was the Committee's professional staff.

To succeed Green, Fulbright had to resign his own Chairmanship of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Yet this went unnoticed in most editorial comment of the time; the whole of Fulbright's career seemed so closely identified with the course of American foreign policy that it was hard to realize that he had served as a member of any Committee except Foreign Relations.

For example, the 55-word "Fulbright Resolution of 1943" started the chain reaction by which Congress reversed its post World War I isolationism and committed itself to US membership in a world organization that was to become the United Nations.

Thereafter, as a freshman Senator, he came up with the idea of using funds from the sale of surplus US war property abroad to support a student exchange program that came to be known as the Fulbright Scholarships. And when that source of funds dried up, Fulbright year in and year out led the struggle to extract from Congress the modest appropriations that kept the program alive. At the time of the Marshall Plan, he repeatedly urged that the US use economic assistance as a lever to bring about the economic and political integration of European nations.

His is an unusual record of prescience – and of independence. Fulbright had been among the earliest advocates of rebuilding US conventional forces as an alternative to a reliance on nuclear "massive retaliation." Long ago, he was urging a shift in emphasis from military to economic assistance to underdeveloped nations. He has wanted to put financing of economic assistance on a long-term basis to allow for the rational planning of developmental projects. He saw the connection between the rate of US economic growth and our capacity to act effectively and simultaneously on the home and foreign sectors. He has spoken often of exploring all possibilities for a settlement of Cold War issues through negotiation instead of bluster. When the House and much of the Senate in the name of bipartisanship was stampeded into uncritically supporting the Eisenhower Administration, Fulbright was among the few who demurred: who warned against the consequences of sending arms to Pakistan; who exposed the fatuousness of the Eisenhower Doctrine; who resisted the panic that found expression in the Lebanon landings; and who repeatedly called the Administration to account for the erratic turns of policy in the management of American interests in the Middle East, the Far East, and above all, in its relations with our NATO allies.

By background, then, Fulbright was unique in the personal history he brought to his Committee Chairmanship. He was also unique in venturing, soon after he assumed the chairmanship, to redefine the line between the power of the Executive and the Senate.

The President and the Chairman

Unlike most of his predecessors, Fulbright is convinced that the Senate is not structurally equipped to play any major role in the day-to-day management of foreign affairs. When it tries to do that, it multiplies disarray at home and confusion abroad. The management function, he feels, is by its very nature Executive in character. The Senate therefore must not only place itself under a self-denying ordinance when it comes to the mechanics of diplomacy, but must help arm the Executive with competent means and authority to bargain, to maneuver, and to seize any fugitive opportunity cast up by the shifting tides of world events.

But by keeping its distance from the Executive, the Senate can be an effective instrument of public education; it can define and clarify the zones of the feasible, the areas of the negotiable, thereby assuring that the Executive, when it decides to act, has the fullest support of public opinion.

When the Kennedy Administration came to power, there were those who predicted a troubled relationship between the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the new President. For one thing – so the theorizing went – Fulbright had good reason for harboring a grudge. He had seemed a logical choice as Secretary of State if experience, talent, and a proven record of sound judgment were to decide the matter. He was reported to be a front running possibility in Kennedy's own mind, only to be passed over in favor of Dean Rusk. Since Rusk came from "segregationist" Georgia, Fulbright would gag on the argument that the incoming President could not afford to face the world with a Secretary from Arkansas. For another thing – so the theorizing continued – Kennedy, as a Senator, was the lowest ranking member on the Foreign Relations Committee under Fulbright's Chairmanship; and in the structure of Congressional power, the distance between the lowest member and the Chairman of a major committee is roughly equal to the distance between the earth and the sun.

It was a plausible theory, but it was wrong. Fulbright actively discouraged his friends who offered to press his merits on the President-elect. His only other move came when he learned, to his surprise, that there was something substantial behind the press reports that he stood very high on Mr. Kennedy's list. He then got in

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touch with Senator Russell – who he knew was about to call on the President-elect for a general review of political matters – and asked Russell to convey a message: If the President-elect was actually weighing the idea of having Fulbright as Secretary of State, then Fulbright wished to rule himself out of further consideration on the ground that he felt temperamentally better suited to his work as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

With this message on the way, Fulbright left Washington and returned to Arkansas. He was swinging back toward his Little Rock office and had reached a point some eight miles out of the city when he received word the President-elect had been trying to reach him. When contact was established, Fulbright learned of Kennedy's intention to appoint Dean Rusk, but along with this came an invitation, which Fulbright accepted, to join the President-elect for a talk in Palm Beach. The meeting, cordial in personal tone, was devoted mainly to a discussion of foreign problems the President-elect would soon inherit.

No one other than President Kennedy himself knows the full story of how he came to decide on Dean Rusk, but there are enough shreds of evidence to suggest some considerations in Kennedy's mind.

Take Chester Bowles. Even if Bowles' personal talents for diplomacy had no equal, he could not expect an appointment as Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration. Nor did he look for such an appointment. He knew that Governor Ribicoff, a Connecticut man like himself, had a first claim on a Cabinet seat in reward for indispensable services performed on Kennedy's behalf in the drive for the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination. The realistic limit to Bowles' wishes was an appointment to the second or third ranking post in the Department.

Averill Harriman was widely experienced. Yet an incoming Administration, with a hairline election victory behind it, might not wish to risk a "rerun" of all the battles of the past, by thrusting into the first position on the Cabinet a man like Harriman who had been so prominently identified with those past battles. (The White House these days, however, sounds with a different tune. Harriman's performance on behalf of the President in Far Eastern matters particularly, led a White House Special Assistant close to Mr. Kennedy to say: "Don't tell me anymore that age and experience don't count. I wish we had a hundred Harrimans.")

Where Adlai Stevenson was concerned, the case appears to have been much more complex; and Fulbright figured in it somewhat. All the other likely possibilities at one time or another expressed the view that Stevenson had the strongest claim to the post. The opinion evidently was shared by Mr. Kennedy – up to the West Virginia primary and a bit afterward.

The story goes that when it seemed that Kennedy would be knocked out of the fight for the Presidential nomination, he had gone to Stevenson with an offer of his own delegate votes if Stevenson was going to bid for a third nomination. But he wanted to know what Stevenson actually meant to do. The story continues that after Kennedy won the West Virginia primary, he again returned to Stevenson, with the argument that the most helpful thing he could do would be to make it plain that he was not a candidate for a third nomination, and that this would clear the air. On neither occasion did Stevenson speak in what Kennedy considered to be an unequivocal way. Kennedy's resentment on this account – reinforced by the last minute confused drive to get the nomination for Stevenson – is said to have decided the matter.

Nonetheless, after the Kennedy victory Stevenson appeared to feel that by experience and by the record of valiant service on behalf of the Democratic Party, he had won the right to the appointment. And when he gathered that this was not to be, he is reported to have said to Kennedy, "If it is Fulbright as Secretary of State, I'll take it" – meaning he would accept that Kennedy decision without protest – "but I won't take it if it's anyone else." He took it, nonetheless.

Respect Tempered with Dissent

No matter how the Rusk appointment came about, once it was made, Fulbright, who shared Kennedy's concept of a strong Presidential role in the conduct of foreign policy, never questioned the decision. And in the months that followed his own relations with Mr. Kennedy went forward in a spirit of mutual respect, though he did not always agree with the President. A case in point occurred early this year when the Senate was to vote on the confirmation of John McCone as the new CIA director. Fulbright decided to vote against the appointment, and in preparation for doing so drafted a brief statement he meant to read in the Senate. His stand was based on the assumption that a CIA Director ranks next in importance to the President in the conduct of foreign policy – since the Director has his hand on the main switch controlling the flow of facts that enter into Presidential judgments. He would have to oppose the appointment, he said, since among other things he didn't know enough about McCone's attitude toward foreign policy to know whether he was a preventive war man.

When the draft statement was ready, Fulbright showed the text to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's staff director, Carl Marcy, and asked if he could see in it anything that might hurt the Committee itself. "No," said Marcy, "and what's more, I agree with what you say in the statement. But somebody

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could be hurt by it – namely you. . . ." Fulbright subsequently read the statement on the floor of the Senate. He had shown comparable independence months earlier in the "Cuban Affair."

The Cuban Memorandum

During the few remaining weeks that were left to the Eisenhower Administration, Fulbright had been reading news accounts of camps in which Cuban refugees from the Castro regime were undergoing military training. Beyond these, he had no confidential information. Nor was he ever told anything by any member of the new Administration. Nonetheless, by the spring of 1961, the rumors were flying thick and fast that the Cuban refugees, supported by the United States, would presently attempt an invasion.

Toward the end of March, Fulbright received a telephone call from President Kennedy that was wholly social and personal. In the course of the conversation, the President learned that Fulbright and his wife were to leave on March 30 to spend Easter with a relation who lived in Del Ray, Florida. Since Mr. Kennedy planned on leaving for Palm Beach the same day, he invited Fulbright to come along.

It occurred to Fulbright that the trip would give him a chance to speak to the President about the invasion stories. So he called in Pat Holt, a staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and proceeded to outline the reasons why the US should have no part in such an invasion, if the rumors about it were true. The reworked version of the memorandum, dated March 29, 1961, was in Fulbright's pocket when he boarded the Presidential plane the next day.

In flight, Fulbright produced the memorandum for the President to read. The line of argument – though the text has yet to be released – can be reconstructed with some degree of accuracy as follows:

The problem in Latin America was not with governments. It was with people, particularly with workers, peasants and students. If so, the argument that Castro must go in order to keep his influence from spreading further among these groups failed to take into account the fact that Castro's influence had already gone far beyond the personal appeal of Castro the individual. It would persist as a doctrine of radical social reform with anti-Yanqui overtones long after Fidel Castro.

Furthermore, on the provisional assumption that an attempt would be made by Cuban refugees to overthrow him, and on the further provisional assumption that the attempt succeeded, it was worth asking whether the successor government would be equal to the task facing it. The evidence about the leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front who presumably would constitute that government pointed to a discouraging conclusion. As an uncomfortable coalition of dissident interests, it had no men in it who could provide vigorous, progressive government. If they came to power, and failed on the social and political front, the US would be blamed; if they were partly successful, the US would be blamed, not only in Cuba but elsewhere, for their shortcomings.

Finally, the political question to one side, what should the US do if the Cuban exiles failed? Should the US let the enterprise fail, in the probably futile hope of concealing the US role in it? Should it respond openly with whatever assistance might be necessary to insure the success of the invasion? Overt assistance would undo the work of 30 years in trying to live down earlier US interventions in Latin American affairs. Even covert support of a Castro overthrow would be in violation of the spirit, and probably the letter as well, of domestic legislation and of treaties to which the US was a party. Besides, covert support would be of a piece with the hypocrisy and cynicism for which the United States was constantly denouncing the Soviet Union. And the point would not be lost on the world.

Provided that the Soviet Union used Cuba only as a political and not as a military base, the Castro regime should be viewed as a thorn in our flesh, not a dagger in our heart. If so, the real question was whether Castro could in fact succeed in providing a better life for the Cuban people; and whether he could do a better job in this respect in Cuba than the US and its friends could do elsewhere in Latin America. It would be a fatal confession of failure in ourselves and our values if we decreed that Castro must go because he might succeed.

What the US had to do immediately, Fulbright suggested, was to address itself to the sadly neglected political orientation of its economic aid program. Insofar as they had political content at all, these programs had usually been keyed to support a given government in power, and too often this had been a traditional, oligarchical government on its way out.

We must sometime stop supporting governments which paid lip service to social reforms, but which did not really have it in their hearts. We must perforce deal with these governments, but if they could not be corrected in their ways, they were going to be overthrown. We must make it clear to them that the time for conversion was growing short; that if they were converted to the cause of genuine social reform, we would help them; but that if they were not, we did not propose to be overthrown with them.

So much for the main lines of the memorandum.

When President Kennedy finished reading it, there was some general talk about its contents, and that was that. Only not quite. Days later, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the homebound Presidential plane was taxiing to a stop on its Washington runway when the

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President turned to Fulbright and remarked that there was going to be a meeting about the Cuban business at 5:30 in the State Department and that he would like Fulbright to be present and repeat his arguments.

At the meeting, Allen Dulles for the CIA spoke as though the Cuban invasion had already been agreed to. The generals pronounced the project militarily feasible. And so it went down the line with all voices expressing particular kinds of support – or indifference – until it came Fulbright's turn. He was the only man in the room who didn't owe President Kennedy anything, or didn't depend on his sufferance. He was opposed, and when he was through speaking there was dead silence.

After the Cuban fiasco, Fulbright was present at a meeting in the White House to consider how the mess could be cleaned up. He argued for the line of action expressed in the latter portions of his March 29 memorandum – a line which seemed later on to find an echo in President Kennedy's speeches to Latin American diplomats. As the meeting broke up, the President turned to the Senator and said within earshot of other persons present: "You are the only person in this room who has a right to say, 'I told you so'."

Scapegoat for the Right

Fulbright has not hesitated to forward ideas to the White House. Last year, he submitted a memorandum arguing against any military involvement in Laos. Another communication, which had a bearing on the Berlin crisis, provided the President with precise information about the status of the Vatican City and how it was created. In another, he promoted the idea that the Dominican government could be made the gem of the Caribbean – this, by encouraging the new government to take over all the Trujillo family holdings and operate them as a trust for the Dominican people under a quasi-governmental agency like the TVA or the Port of New York Authority.

Meanwhile, Fulbright, who had struggled for years to get foreign aid put on a long-term financing basis, achieved a legislative breakthrough when he managed the Senate fight for the Administration's aid bill of last year. He carried the bill through the Foreign Relations Committee in substantially the form he wanted. He was only slightly less successful with the Senate as a whole. The difficulty was with the House. Nonetheless, enough margin was left in the Senate version of the bill when the Conference Committee got through with it, so that a precedent to build on was established for use in this year's fight.

All this to no one's very great surprise, attracted the fire of the Radical Right. And it was in the course of meeting that fire that Fulbright provided the Congress, the Administration, and the nation with a vision of where America stood and what was expected of it. He arose in the Senate on June 29, 1961, to voice "Some Reflections Upon Recent Events and Continuing Problems." Certain people, he said, felt that the lesson to be drawn from Laos was that the US should be prepared to commit its military strength to the active defense of its policies anywhere outside the Communist empire. The real lesson, however, was that "nothing would please the Communist leaders more than to draw the US into costly commitments of its resources to peripheral struggles." Nor, as in the case of Cuba, would we gain anything if we tried to beat the Communists at their own game.

To do this, said Fulbright, would be to miss the point of the struggle. Ours is not a system to be imposed by force after the Communist manner. It is a permissive system; its values "imply our adherence not only to liberty and individual freedom, but also to international peace, law and order, and constructive social purpose." We seek only to "help others remain independent and safe from foreign domination." It is to our credit that the world judges the US and the Soviet Union according to a double standard, demanding of us a higher order of conduct.

The line of reasoning did not end with this speech. In amplifying his theme not long after, he observed that in a world piled high with explosive thermonuclear weapons, the danger of a head-on collision between the US and Russia could be avoided only on two conditions. First: we must make crystal clear that we possess both the power and the will to defend our vital interests; secondly, we must distinguish clearly, in our minds, between interests that *are* vital, on which we can make no concessions, and those that are merely desirable, on which we can afford to be flexible. "I firmly believe," he said, "that we have vital interests for which we would have to go to war if there were no alternative but surrender. I also believe that thermonuclear war, which, as the Secretary of Defense has said, could cause the deaths of 50 million Americans, should not be undertaken in blind frustration or passion, or in response to provocations that are marginal, or for any purpose as long as there is a reasonable possibility of successful negotiations."

If these were fighting words to the wild men on the Right they were mild compared to what he later said about "political" Generals.

All last year he had been collecting evidence of the way military men like General Edwin A. Walker were using "alerts" and "seminars" to indoctrinate the civil population on the virtues of blind passion as the way to solve all problems. Soon he had a mass of material in hand – naming names, places, subjects, and textual content. These he attached to a memorandum addressed privately to the Secretary of Defense,

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along with recommended changes in the National Security Council Directive of 1958 on the use of military personnel for propaganda work.

"Perhaps it is far-fetched," wrote Fulbright, "to call forth the revolt of the French generals as an example of the ultimate danger" in our right-wing radicalism. "Nevertheless, military officers, French and American, have some common characteristics rising from their profession and there are numerous military 'fingers on the trigger' throughout the world." The real need is for a deeper understanding of what the struggle is all about. "There is no reason to believe that military personnel generally can contribute to this need, beyond their specific, technical competence to explain their own role. On the contrary, there are many reasons, and some evidence, for believing that an effort by the military, beyond this limitation, involves considerable danger."

Fulbright therefore recommended that the National Security Council Directive of 1958, authorizing military personnel to reinforce the cold war effort by their own propaganda activities, should be reconsidered from the standpoint of "a basic error – that military personnel have the necessarily broad background which enable them to relate the various aspects of the cold war effort one to the other." He proposed a re-examination of the organization, mission, and operation of the National War College; a similar re-examination of the relationship between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College and the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and long-range studies that could develop a program for educating promising military officers more broadly.

Then, when the news of his memorandum's existence led to a Senate row where Fulbright produced the whole text, he went before the National War College on August 21 to speak about "Public Policy and Military Responsibility." It was not his purpose, he said, "to silence military officers who choose to express their own views in public and who are subject to the discipline of their superiors and their own sense of duty and propriety." His purpose was to check the improper action of officers of the armed services "who permitted their prestige and official status to be exploited by persons with extreme views on highly controversial political issues."

"In most democratic societies," said Fulbright, "there are differences in spirit and mood between the professional soldier and the politician or statesman. The politician must move tentatively in an atmosphere in which goals and means often become mixed. Only in the most general terms does he have predefined objectives, and excessive precision will only make movement difficult. . . . In military arrangements flexibility is a necessary evil and ambiguity may easily cost lives; in politics flexibility is the first rule and ambiguity an essential instrument. In considerations such as these lie the wisdom and justification for civilian supremacy and military professionalism."

Senators Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond were aghast. They accused him of advocating "inaction on all major cold war fronts," trying to make the "policy of nonintervention under any circumstances a national policy," timidly shying away from "total victory," foolishly paying attention to "an ephemeral something called world opinion," and making "a clandestine assault on the fundamental foundations of our republic" by seeking to "muzzle" military officers critical of the Administration's foreign and domestic policies." The shouts were re-echoed in Arkansas.

"Not Since Adlai Stevenson . . ."

But as Fulbright had drawn on his strength in Arkansas to say what he felt in Washington, he drew on his strength in Washington to say what he felt the people of his state had a right to hear about how their interests were bound up with positions he had taken on international questions.

"It seems to me," he told the Arkansas Chamber of Commerce, "that it is the extremists who are 'soft' – not on Communism, but 'soft' in judgment and 'soft' in their prescriptions for what we must do to meet the Communist challenge. Their oversimplifications and their baseless generalizations reflect the 'softness' of those who cannot bear to face the burdens of a continuing struggle against a powerful and resourceful enemy. . . . These extremists call themselves 'conservative.' In my judgment their views are not conservative, they are simply unrealistic. The true conservative is one who wishes to conserve the historic traditional values of our society. He recognizes that the world does not stand still and that, because it does not, we must at times modify and reform traditional practices through orderly constitutional processes of change, in order to adapt them to new conditions. Social and economic progress is thus seen to be the indispensable means of preserving traditional values in a changing world."

When he had finished one of his recent electioneering tours through the Southeastern part of the state, talking in this vein, the *Pine Bluff Commercial* had an editorial judgment to pass: "Not at least since Adlai Stevenson in 1952 has anybody gone to the voters with so few apparent reservations, so little condescension to the popular taste in political issues and so strong an addiction to the realities of American policy, foreign and domestic." And, said the editorial, the most remarkable part about it all is – his audiences "were listening and being convinced."

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Francis Hackett – In Remembrance

1883-1962

Francis Hackett *was one of the founding editors of* The New Republic. *His essays on literary and other matters (excerpted here) appeared regularly in this journal from 1914 until 1922. His best-known books include* Henry the Eighth – A Personal History *and two novels,* The Green Lion *and* The Senator's Last Night. *Mr. Hackett died in Denmark on April 25 at the age of 79.*

The art of the telegram is threatened. Once we struggled to put our all in ten words – simple, at least, if not sensuous and passionate. Now the day-letter and night-letter seduce us into garrulity. No transition from Greek to Byzantine could be worse than this. We should resist it, as we resist all profligacy. The time will doubtless come when our descendants will recall us as austere and frugal in our use of the telegram. But we should preserve this sign of our Spartan manhood. Let us defer the softness and effeminacy of long, cheap telegrams. Let us remain primitive, virginal, terse.

"Telegrams," February 12, 1916.

One may guess what the theme of Rupert Brooke means to Mr. Henry James. His favored word "felicity" perhaps sums it up. Here was a youth whom Mr. James early divined. He saw him first at Cambridge in the splendid setting of the river at the "backs." At "such a pitch of simple scenic perfection" almost no personality could have sustained the exorbitant demands of Mr. James' imagination. Mr. James has spent much of his career gently commiserating with the world on its heavy failure to fulfill his delicate expectancies for it. But with the figure and the gesture of Rupert Brooke he was immensely, mutely charmed. Like a child that holds his breath lest he disturb a top that is spinning perfectly, Mr. James hovered above the young poet in the parentage of solicitude. When the top moved off the carpet of England on to the hard boards of foreign travel, Mr. James was in exquisite trepidation. But the spin was vigorous. Through all the gyrations Mr. James at last felt an unexampled rightness. He was not merely contemplating a phenomenon that aroused his literary imagination. He was enthralled by a performance that sustained and fulfilled his notions of highest amenity. It was the personal, the social, culmination of Rupert Brooke that most enamored Mr. James.

Letters from America, by Rupert Brooke, with an Introduction by Henry James – reviewed February 5, 1916.

The humanitarian hates pain, and his worst weaknesses, as I see them, spring from this impulse. He hates so much to give pain that he may not be cruel to be kind. He hates so much to encounter pain that he may duck the necessity to enforce his will. The latter is by far the more serious weakness. So dear to him is the idea of human liberty that he strives to believe there are no irreconcilable conflicts in the world, and he closes his eyes to the problem of evil in human nature rather than intrude his will. Seeing the very great nobility of his positive idea of society, one would suppose that he could freely express his will against any opponent of his idea, and that he would find a sanction for it not in any personal righteousness, but in the large end he cherishes in mind. But the truth is, the end seen by the humanitarian is often indefinite. He knows himself so well that the pharisaism of righteousness, of "laws of humanity," is extremely apparent to him. He is deeply suspicious of the ordinary motives by which men justify imposing their will. He tends, therefore, to disregard arbitrary laws, which are almost uniformly framed in the self-interest of the ruling class. He tends to avoid summary decisions. He tends not to scrutinize too closely the variations of personality. He tends to a "mush of concession." These leniencies may be creditable. They are founded on a respect for man as against law, for the creative as against the routine impulse. But there are cases where responsibility requires insistence and coercion. There are cases where the dividends of pleasure must be implacably deferred. To ignore this is to be a sentimentalist, and there is a danger

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of this sentimentalism in the very fact that one hates pain.

Counter-Currents, by Agnes Repplier – reviewed May 6, 1916.

When a rebellion has failed men say it was wicked or foolish. It is, on the contrary, wickedness and folly to judge in these terms. If men rise against authority the measure of their act cannot be loyalty or prudence. It is the character of the authority against which men revolt that must shape one's mind. No free man sets an ultimate value on his life. No free man sets an ultimate sanction on authority. Is it just authority, representative, tolerable? The only revolt that is wicked or foolish is the revolt against reasonable or tolerable authority. If authority is not livable, revolt is a thousand times justified.

"The Irish Revolt," May 13, 1916.

Once men begin to think of the camera as an aesthetic instrument, I believe the art of the movies will be vastly subtilized, ramified, developed. There is nothing which the eye of man has seen, nothing in form or color or movement, nothing so delicate, so evanescent, so glorious, nothing from dawn to dawn or from pole to pole, which may not be captured and adapted by its magic. I believe the day will come when people will look back on the present productions as admirers of Coburn and Stieglitz look back on the first tintype. And when that day comes the despised machine will have paid part of its debt to common people.

"The Movies," May 1, 1915.

Something has departed from Mr. Galsworthy. When he began to write he was said in some quarters to be a man of medium intelligence and of limited capacity for experience. Obviously he had his decorum and his extreme repression. But there was in him that exceptional sensitiveness to people which is the essence of poignant fiction, and with it went social irony and courage and a delicate yet powerful strain of idealism. It was perhaps a slim gift of divine energy, but it was divine and it was energy and it ennobled his earlier books and plays. And then something happened. The thin cuticle thickened. The curious power of insisting on spiritual realities stiffened into priggishness or wobbled into sentimentalism. What was like Turgenev in him eventually vanished like the dew. There now remains a facile, graceful, rather nerveless and distinctly complacent magazine storyteller who has practically ceased to be an artist but who still presents an accomplished imitation of the real thing.

Saint's Progress, by John Galsworthy –reviewed September 3, 1919.

If history bore no relation to life, this motion picture drama could well be reviewed and applauded as a spectacle. As a spectacle it is stupendous. It lasts three hours, represents a staggering investment of time and money, reproduces entire battle scenes and complex events, amazes even when it wearies by its attempt to encompass the Civil War. But since history does bear on social behavior, *The Birth of a Nation* cannot be reviewed simply as a spectacle. It is an interpretation, the Rev. Thomas Dixon's interpretation, of the relations of the North and South and their bearing on the negro . . .

We know what a yellow journalist is. He is not yellow because he reports crimes of violence. He is yellow because he distorts them. In the region of history the Rev. Thomas Dixon corresponds to the yellow journalist. He is a clergyman, but he is a yellow clergyman. He is yellow because he recklessly distorts negro crimes, gives them a disproportionate place in life, and colors them dishonestly to inflame the ignorant and the credulous. And he is especially yellow, because his perversions are cunningly calculated to flatter the white man and provoke hatred and contempt for the negro.

Whatever happened during Reconstruction, this film is aggressively vicious and defamatory. It is spiritual assassination. It degrades the censors that passed it and the white race that endures it.

The Birth of a Nation – reviewed March 20, 1915.

What, I ask you to speculate, would be the sensations of the public if a journal should print quite candid literary criticism. I do not suppose the experiment has ever been tried. A candid world would be unbearable. It would be intolerably egoistic. I, for one, should not care to live in it. But for a brief hour I'd like to see all the critics in a given issue pour out their innermost souls. The sudden change from the institutional way of saying things to the personal way of saying them would, I guarantee, be an incredible novelty. The drilled reader would certainly not care for it . . . But there are times when one would like everyone, especially the young, to know the immense deceptions of the whole elaborate contrivance. Under the starched bosom of the world there is a heart very different from the heart that the bosom advertises. We know it, but the man who speaks it is a traitor to the principalities of starch.

"Books and Things," January 8, 1916.

The principles by which an artist lives are necessarily in conflict with the ordinary routine morality. But it is the duty of all who love art to stand by the artist in his revolt. To flout current morality is not the object. Very often current morality is the best morality for the majority. But a false uniformity is unfair to the artist, and it is this that has to be learned in America. It is not fair to ask the actor to serve ideals directly. It is his function to represent life. To ask him to be "regular" is to ask the night-worker to rise with the lark.

"The Actor's Dilemma," May 15, 1915.

The keenest realization of the nation reached me, as I recall, the first time I saw the capitol in Washington. Quite unsuspecting I strolled up the hill from the station, just about midnight, the streets gleaming after a warm shower. The plaza in front of the capitol was deserted. A few high sentinel lamps threw a lonely light down the wet steps and scantily illumined the pillars. Darkness veiled the dome. Standing apart completely by myself, I felt as never before the union of which this strength and simplicity was the symbol. The quietude of the night, the scent of April pervading it, gave to the lonely building a dignity such as I had seldom felt before. It seemed to me to stand for a fine and achieved determination, for a purpose maintained, for a quiet faith in the peoples and states that lay away behind it to far horizons. Lincoln, I thought, had perhaps looked from

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those steps on such a night in April, and felt the same promise of spring.

In the daylight, no doubt, the capitol is different, a maze of practical politicians. But it is not from these men's activities that the alien derives his final belief – his belief that, however they fail, there is in these states a touchstone of humanity, and that here men may renew themselves to a free and conscious end.

"As an Alien Feels," July 24, 1915.

It is known to all of us that where humanity is at grips with its own destiny it is the habit of all men to lie. The great finalities are always concealed from us in their full gravity and terror – the finalities of birth, of love, of death. And because they are concealed from us, with the zeal of the frightened savage that is in all of us, we go from catastrophe to catastrophe as numb as fools. Only occasionally, against the instinct of the savage that bids us sprinkle holy water and burn incense and heap flowers, does the man arrive who accepts his naked destiny and insists on its actual nature against every kind of incantation. Such a man, confronted by war, is Henri Barbusse, the Parisian journalist who incorporates his whole experience in this book.

Under Fire, the Story of a Squad, by Henri Barbusse – reviewed October 27, 1917.

Lord Northcliffe has a somewhat childish vanity. He is a man with a great reputation. In a country where the successful demagog is the conservative demagog, he has played the role to perfection. He has appeared as a defender of established institutions against all sorts of upstarts from the suffragettes to Lloyd George. He has satisfied cheap appetites in every way compatible with a minimum of literacy, and has made an art of gilding the national gingerbread. He has utilized the pomp of *The Times* and the circumstance of *The Daily Mail* to carry out the exploitation of public opinion, and as a result if not as an object he has become enormously wealthy and important and a peer. And yet he writes a book.

At the War, by Lord Northcliffe – reviewed December 30, 1916.

If you compare religious periodicals and professors' periodicals you may conclude that the religious are more tediously specialized, but you cannot resist the belief that for concentrated dullness the professors have the equipment to be first. In sociology, philology, history, philosophy, economics, psychology, they have been shown how the brazen pots of the universities can shatter a poorer humanist pottery. Whatever chance there was for the incendiary brain of mankind before professors organized dullness, there is practically none at present. This dullness in education is the last word in the conspiracy against intelligence and puts existing institutions almost out of harm's way.

"In Praise of Dullness," January 5, 1918.

Chicago is a scrimmage but also an adventure, a frank and passionate creator struggling with hucksters and hogsters, a blundering friend to genius among the assassins of genius, a frontier against the Europe that meant an established order, an order of succession and a weary bread-line. In Chicago, for all its philistinism, there is the condition of hope that is half the spiritual battle, whatever stockade the puritans try to build.

Chicago, by H. C. Chatfield-Taylor – reviewed January 26, 1918.

Youth is never so young as when experienced. But those who must deal with it cannot lose by making it more articulate, by saving it from the silly adult exclusions of jealousy and pride. For this jealousy and pride continually operates against youth in the name of dignity and discipline. And so the fiction of happy youth is favored, the fiction that portrays youth as the springtime of the spirit; that pipes a song about a lamb, and leads the lamb to slaughter.

"The Age of Innocence," April 13, 1918.

Repeatedly in American life the heavy manure of wealth has been pitchforked on to unprepared soil and over and over again the drama of the prodigal has been enacted. Whether the lucky family ends by building its monument on Fifth Avenue, after the sublime example of Senator Clarke, or acquires Italian or Polish or Austrian sons-in-law, or takes it out in horses or yachts, the common accident of money plus unpreparedness has invariably created an interesting situation. It is the suddenness of acquisition that makes the situation. People bred to produce find themselves ill-bred to distribute, and they are called upon to distribute "magnificently." The idiom of their love-making is not less determined by their affluence than the type of their politics, or the manner of their dealing with schoolmasters and taskmasters and dependents. Soon, under all their sportiness, there comes to be a lack of hardihood. While the beginning of the trouble is a deficiency in moral direction rather than moral quality, the quality can scarcely keep from deteriorating. There is seldom any disinterested relation to life to relieve the tedium or soften the impact of a class existence, and once dependence on wealth is fully established anything that may prove inimical to wealth becomes reprehensible. The outcome is sometimes more suitable for the pathologist than for the novelist, but it is seldom wanting in salience.

The Magnificent Ambersons, by Booth Tarkington – reviewed November 2, 1918.

The silhouette of Dempsey is unaltered in the third and fourth rounds. In this fight it is unalterable. Carpentier comes to him with the fatality that the tennis-ball comes to the champion player. Dempsey is always there, driving in those piston blows which Carpentier does not dare spread himself to stop. The Frenchman suddenly appears young, struggling, futile, while Dempsey, like an avenger, comes inexorably after him. And yet it is not cruel or humiliating. Dempsey is not brutal. He is simply superior. Except for that one moment when he withered perceptibly, he has kept the game in hand. If he has sprawled once or twice, so has the more brilliant Carpentier. And when the fireworks spin out he emerges with no change in his fundamental rule – to beat, literally beat, Carpentier with one short, cruel stab after another. . . .

My squid, of course, was spread all over the skyline. I saw nothing but his blue coat in the instant Carpentier went down. I never saw the knockdown. I heard the roar. I caught one glimpse of a god on all fours. I saw Dempsey waiting, too tall for anyone

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to obscure, and I saw the referee marking his count with a great swinging arm. But that was all.

Well, not quite all. When the crowd simmers down a bit I see in the ring Jack Dempsey, smiling. He flings both arms straight up, bare of the gloves, nothing on but white bandages. A magnificent figure of victory! Then they put a towel over his head, the way one puts a parrot to sleep. And that is the end.

"Dempsey-Carpentier," July 13, 1921.

Public poems are like public statuary. They are not intended to give pleasure. They are intended to impose, to exalt, to edify. In the case of the statues the edification is usually miscalculated. We do not feel that a good man has been lifted above us. We feel that a good man has had the intolerable misfortune to be petrified or metallized, and in uncomfortable clothes. Poetry in a frock coat, holding in its hand the top-hat of statesmanship, is not much better off. Unless the poet is really transfigured by his cause – "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints" – he is one of the most lugubrious and depressing of pedestalled men.

For twenty years and more Rudyard Kipling has put aside these light aesthetic considerations. He has come to take with enormous seriousness his function as the British laureate. Once he played on a banjo. He wrote jazz poetry. Those glad old days are gone. Now, as this collection of public poems testifies, he makes his roost on a pedestal.

The Years Between, by Rudyard Kipling – reviewed April 19, 1919.

It is all right to be a joiner, provided you have some choice about the thing you have joined. But if you are told you can't have any say-so whatever, if you are compelled to ride in a box-car without even a peep at the passing scenery, then I see no good in it. I counsel walking alone like the all-seeing cat. I counsel anarchy. I counsel perpetual conscientious objection.

The warm-blooded tribal leader is quite right to run down the intellectual. The worst thing in life is to be too loftily alone, to be a pariah and an outcast, to be a pelican in the subway. But next worst, surely, is not to be enough alone, to have people standing on your mental feet, to be hustled into conformity with all sorts of blunt and dull and crass and unnecessary things. Everything in man that craves "freedom" is exasperated and embittered by this kind of tribalism.

"Books and Things," March 31, 1920.

Life is in itself a sufficiently difficult picture-puzzle, but what chance have we if the turnip-headed censor confiscates some particular indispensible fragment that he chooses to dislike? On reading *Eminent Victorians,* how we rejoice to escape from those wax effigies that we once believed to be statesmen – the kind of effigies of which text-books and correct histories and correct biographies are full. How we rejoice to escape from them, wondering that they had ever imposed on us, wondering that teachers and pious families and loyal historians ever lent themselves to this conspiracy against truth. But the horrible fact is, Mr. Strachey is one in a million. He has only poked his finger through the great spider-web of so-called "vital lies."

Meanwhile, in all the decorous and respectable biographies, the same old "vital lies" are being told. The insiders, the initiated, the disillusioned, are aware of them. They no longer subsist on them. They read between the lines. And yet when the insiders see in print the true facts – these very insiders rush forward with a Mother Hubbard to fling around the naked truth. We must not speak the truth. We must edify. We must bring our young into a spotless wax-faced world.

It means that we need a revolution in education, nothing less. It means that the truth must be taken out of the hands of the censor. We must be prepared to shed oceans of ink.

"The Invisible Censor," December 3, 1919.

The Security of Memory

by J. M. Edelstein

I have been impressed, as have been many others, with the promise and the achievements of John Updike. Young (he is 30) and uncommonly talented, *Pigeon Feathers* is his fifth book to be published within the last four years. One critic has said that "John Updike is the most talented writer of his age in America and perhaps the most serious," while another has described him as "a subtle, poetic, intellectual, wondering consciousness. . . ." Updike is witty; he is keen; he writes with virtuosity and with a Joycean love and regard for the complexity of words; his is a first-rate intelligence being used creatively and with originality.

Pigeon Feathers and Other Stories
by John Updike
(Knopf; $4)

And yet, reading Updike, rewarding as it is, can also be terribly frustrating, as if either something were missing or there was too much of a good thing. Although the best of Updike is overwhelming, I wonder if it is still good enough. Writing for Updike must be like a game played between himself and his imagination or the record of the dialogue between himself and his typewriter, better only in degree than the myriad novels and stories which begin and end with a protagonist introducing himself to his image in the mirror. We see, as if in response to an imperative "See!" And the looking is often a pleasure, but that, too, is not enough. From a writer as good and as sure as Updike is, I want to know more, and I can not unless he demands more of me, something Updike does less of in *Pigeon Feathers* than he did in his novels and his previous collection of stories.

Seventeen of the 19 stories in *Pigeon Feathers* were first published in *The New Yorker,* and they have all the virtues and all the faults of that magazine. They glitter and shine; sometimes they dazzle; and in their irony, their detachment, their neat felicity, they display a cleverness and an obvious mannerism that becomes tiresome.

Though they may have different names in the stories that make up

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Pigeon Feathers, all the young heroes are the same brooding, yearning young man – in many ways the same young man as in *Rabbit, Run*, perhaps less inarticulate and less irresponsible. The place, too, whether called Pennsylvania, New York, or Massachusetts, turns out to be the same, very much like the countryside around Shillington, Pennsylvania, Updike's birthplace and his early home. No matter who he is, or where, our hero is the man who observes his youth going away, who wonders how to retain the security of his childhood, who is perplexed by the independent realities of his wife and children, confused by his own changing love and feelings for them. In all the stories, he is the man who tries to shut out the unpleasantness of his life by conjuring up the sweetness of a remembered past. The dedicatory epigraph from Kafka's "A Report to an Academy" introduces the theme of memory as the theme of these short stories, the past being a land perpetually in need of rediscovery in order to find oneself. Kafka's words, "... and the opening in the distance ... through which I once came myself, has grown so small that, even if my strength and my will power sufficed to get me back to it, I should have to scrape the very skin from my body to crawl through," find an echo in Updike's "But we would-be novelists have a reach as shallow as our skins. We walk through volumes of the unexpressed and like snails leave behind a faint thread excreted out of ourselves."

In his attempt at transmitting past and present reality, Updike is at his best when exploring the mysteries of the commonplace. Several such explorations are brilliantly done. In "Walter Briggs," his hero, in the persistent, moving automobile which is almost a permanent part of Updike's fiction, discovers while playing a word-game with his wife that "he was happy that they had discovered such a good game for the car just when he thought there were no more games for them." "Should Wizard Hit Mommy?" is another simple but rich comment on the relations between husbands and wives and between parents and children in which a father is torn between wanting to justify the rebellion of his child and needing to defend the arbitrary authoritarianism of the mother. "The Crow in the Woods" is a swift and powerful revelation of one man's look at himself:

> "Outdoors a huge black bird came flapping with a crow's laborious wingbeat. It banked and, tilted to fit its feet, fell toward the woods. His heart halted in alarm for the crow, with such recklessness assaulting an inviolable surface, seeking so blindly a niche for its strenuous bulk where there was no depth. It could not enter. Its black shape shattering like an instant of flak, the crow plopped into a high branch and sent snow showering from a quadrant of lace. Its wings spread and settled. The vision destroyed, his heart overflowed. "Clare!" he cried.
>
> "The woman's pragmatic blue eyes flicked from his face to the window where she saw only snow and rested on the forgotten food steaming between his hands. Her lips moved: 'Eat your egg'."

Updike's remarkable gift of language is particularly apparent in several stories which are, essentially, finally sustained monologues. "A & P" is the recital by a young A & P food checker of his reactions as he watches three girls in bathing suits wander through the aisles of a supermarket. But the best of these is "Lifeguard," in which Updike reveals more of the religious concern which pervaded *Rabbit, Run:* a young divinity student spends his summers as a lifeguard and we hear his thoughts as he surveys the squirming mass of humanity on the beach before him.

> "Beyond doubt, I am a splendid fellow. In the autumn, winter, and spring, I execute the duties of a student of divinity; in the summer I disguise myself in my skin and become a lifeguard. ... That there is no discrepancy between my studies, that the texts of the flesh complement those of the mind, is the easy burden of my sermon.
>
> "Young as I am, I can hear in myself the protein acids ticking; I wake at odd hours and in the shuddering darkness and silence feel my death rushing toward me like an express train.
>
> "... in relation to other people oblivion is sensible and sanitary."

It is from "Lifeguard" that Updike moves to the group of experimental stories which conclude the book and which tell us most about what he is up to. "The Blessed Man of Boston, My Grandmother's Thimble, and Fanning Island" is made up of three wholly unrelated episodes, all of which combine like a triptych, into an image of the good, the blessed, life:

> "This is the outline; but it would be the days, the evocation of the days ... the green days. The tasks, the grass, the weather, the shades of sea and air. Just as a piece of turf torn from a meadow becomes a *gloria* when drawn by Dürer. Details. Details are the giant's finger. He seizes the stick and strips the bark and shows, burning beneath, the moist white wood of joy. For I thought that this story, fully told, would become without my willing it a happy story, a story full of joy; had my powers been greater, we would know. As it is, you, like me, must take it on faith."

The last story, "Packed Dirt, Churchgoing, A Dying Cat, A Traded Car," is made up of the same kind of disparate elements, blending into an assertion of life over death and an awareness of the "different things that move us":

> "My father traded in many cars. It happens so cleanly, before you expect it. He would drive off in the old car up the dirt road exactly as usual and when he returned the car would be new, and the old was gone, gone, utterly dissolved back into the mineral world from which it was conjured, dismissed without a blessing, a kiss, a testament, or any ceremony of farewell. We in America need ceremonies, is, I suppose, ... the point of what I have written."

Stunning and moving as these stories are, they leave me troubled. My impressions, though of beauty, of real ideas, and of a major talent, are also of things unsaid and of a sureness that smacks of slickness. It does not seem unfair to ask for more from those who, like Updike, have the most to give.

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On Living in Two Worlds At Once

by Reinhold Niebuhr

Louis Halle is a distinguised student of international relations. As a member of the State Department policy planning staff under George Kennan, he was part of a famous team, all members of which became known as able students of international relations. In recent years, Mr. Halle while teaching at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, has been a frequent and welcome contributor to thoughtful journals, including *The New Republic*.

Men and Nations
by Louis J. Halle
(Princeton; $4.75)

In the preface to *Men and Nations*, he explains that he has sought to find an adequate philosophy to guide political practitioners, a philosophy which might *inter alia* prevent such demands as unconditional surrender – prompted as it is by a sharp distinction between good and evil nations. He feels that a philosophy grounded in a true interpretation of the nature of men would refute such policies as our treatment of the Germans in the First World War. Wilson had affirmed that our quarrel was not with the German people but with their rulers, yet the President's distinction did not prevent a draconic peace being forced upon the whole German nation, including assertion of their responsibility for the war.

Mr. Halle rightly thinks that international policy is corrupted by false images of "Germans" or "French," by stereotypes of peoples and races, of governments and states. Naturally all historical judgments are in some sense biased; and political judgments, particularly those made in conflict situations, are notoriously subjective. Mr. Halle rightly thinks that it is necessary to reduce the irrationalities and absurdities of these judgments if modern men are to manage the political problems of a global community with any appreciable degree of success.

As we are living in a very empirical culture, one naturally assumes that the best strategy for eliminating both subtle and flagrant errors in our judgments of each other is by a greater and greater degree of empirical discipline, by examining generalizations in the light of detailed facts, by challenging universals through inductive procedures. No amount of empiricism will eliminate all distortions prompted by polemical animus; but we do know that we have a better view of American history by profiting from many, and sometimes contradictory, historiographical perspectives. Thus we come to the conclusion that Beard's economic interpretation of our constitution has an element of validity but is probably not absolutely valid.

Mr. Halle, however, turns his back on the genius of modern empirical culture and reverts to Socrates and Plato to winnow truth from error and to eliminate the distortions in all human judgments. His first chapter, "The Dual Philosophy," states his ambitious purpose:

> "The thesis of what follows is that we inhabit two worlds at once. . . . The disparity between the two worlds is the source of our main difficulties in the conduct of our individual lives and in the organization of our societies. . . . I shall try to show in these pages that the past and the present can be understood only in terms of this duality, and that the future must be approached through it if the hope of human betterment is to be realized. . . . For most of us this dual philosophy is identified with Socrates, as Plato represented him. . . . He took the view that only ideas are real in the sense that they are elemental and eternal, while the multifarious concrete, individual representations of these ideas in the visible world are transient and imperfect representations of them."

Mr. Halle does not report that Plato had no method of bringing the fragmentary and corrupted realities of the temporal world into correspondence with the original pure idea. In the *Phaedo*, Plato reports that when the soul wanders about in the transient world it becomes confused, and can return to the eternal and immortal world only by turning into itself, in other words into the world of formal principles of reason. Aristotle is not mentioned in Mr. Halle's heroic, but in my opinion futile, effort to use classical rationalism as an instrument of truth in the political realm, for Aristotle, unlike Plato, regarded the "essences" not merely as ideals, which were corrupted in the temporal world, but as patterns and forms of the real world. He thereby laid the foundation for the "realism" of Thomistic philosophy – the belief in the reality of "universals," of "bearhood" of which individual bears are only exemplars. It was Aristotle and the Stoics who were the first proponents of "natural law" theories, which derived moral and political norms from their conception of metaphysical "essences," underlying history as well as nature, though the norms were too inflexible to do justice to the endless historical contingencies. Thus Aristotelian realism was breached in the nominalism of the late Middle Ages even before the first empirical science, astronomy, breached it.

Mr. Halle is, of course, as are all modern men, a nominalist. Modern empiricism is, in fact, the final fruit of nominalism. But Halle's nominalism, wedded to his Platonism, produces some curious effects in his political philosophy. He thinks that Cicero's interpretation of the natural law as universal, and applying to all men everywhere, (not only in Athens and Rome) because it is the law of "right reason," might tempt Cicero to equate his reason with right reason, and thus corrupt the standard. That is indeed the primary problem. Men go astray frequently not for the want of norms, but because they identify their parochial norms with some ultimate one. Mr. Halle hates all cruel misjudgments of men and nations. He tries vainly to purify human judgments by reference to an ultimate *logos*, or pattern. But he does not meet the problem of the historical corruption of the pattern.

His combination of Platonism and nominalism frequently betrays him into an extravagant individualism, from which Plato and Aristotle might well have rescued him. "The individual belongs to the world of existential realities," he writes, "and the community to a world of nominal ideas." Plato was not subject to this error. In his *Repub-*

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lic he drew an analogy between the anatomy of individual selfhood and the anatomy of the Greek *polis*. Aristotle tended to equate the reality of the *polis* with its constitution (the *politeia*) and hailed the author of the constitution as the greatest of all benefactors, because he had created a community without which human beings could not achieve complete humanity.

Modern Frenchmen, licking the wounds of their seven year conflict with a nation which had been eliminated by definition – the liberal dictum of 1830 that the "rights of man" had made Algeria a part of metropolitan France – will not be impressed by this rigorous individualism. For Algeria, which seemed only an entity in the realm of "nominal ideas" turned out to be a stubborn collective entity. It achieved its nationhood, partly as a consequence of its resentment against the abstract individualism of a liberalism which had denied its existence.

Halle quotes Paley's dictum with approval: "Although we speak of communities as sentient beings, and although we ascribe passions, interests, happiness and misery to them, nothing really exists or feels but individuals." I am really puzzled by the fact that an intelligent and perceptive observer of mankind's political life should take this extravagant individualism so seriously. It enables him to be critical of Rousseau's and Marx's collectivism; but it allows him no critical perspective on the individualistic voluntarism of the Lockean social contract, according to which discrete individuals create communities by an act of reason and will. Nor does this individualism throw any helpful light on the problems of modern liberal democracies, painfully extricating themselves from Lockean individualism in order to come to terms with the collective realities of an industrial civilization.

The climax of this extravagant nominalism is reached when Halle suggests that the traditional autocratic governments are more "real" than democratic governments. "What the revolution of modern times did," he writes, "was to transfer the power of the state from a sovereign who had physical embodiment to one who did not. It transferred sovereignty to an idea called 'the people'." Granted that Lockean ideas of popular self-government are a little too simple, it is surely an error to regard democratic governments as less real than autocratic governments because the realities of hidden loyalties, traditions and consents, implicit and explicit, are complex, rather than simple.

As one who agrees with Halle that all men live in a dual philosophy in the sense that they are aware of a tension between what is and what ought to be, I am puzzled by this tortuous effort to make variegated reality conform to some eternal *logos*, when the greater problem of our common life is obviously to define what ought to be in terms of some relevance of the variegated reality of existence, and not in terms of the fantasies of the idealist. If Mr. Halle's method were right such rigorous idealists as the Jacobins, Marx and Lenin might have been right. They were not only wrong but dangerously so in pursuing their *logos*, or in Marxist terms, their "dialectic."

Mixups in Our Mixed Economy

by Edward T. Chase

"The only thing those sons of bitches forgot to warn them about was: 'Don't take notes'," said Dwight D. Eisenhower when the conspiracy tactics of the electrical manufacturers were revealed to him at a Presidential cabinet meeting in early 1960. Code names, secret sessions in hunting lodges, correspondence in plain envelopes without return address, faked expense accounts, use of first names only, rotation of winning bids according to phases of the moon – such were the conspirators' deceits. The s.o.b.'s' object, successfully achieved over many years: secretly to divide up the market for electrical equipment while fixing prices at the highest tolerable profit levels.

The Great Price Conspiracy
The Story of the Antitrust Violations in the Electrical Industry
by John Herling
(Luce; $6.50)

The Gentlemen Conspirators
The Story of the Price-Fixers in the Electrical Industry
by John G. Fuller
(Grove; $3.95)

Of the two timely reports on last year's electrical price-fixing case – all the more timely now because of steel's attempt at regimented price-raising – John Herling's *The Great Price Conspiracy* is much the more thorough. The case was the biggest, most spectacular in the history of the Sherman Anti-Trust act and both Herling and John G. Fuller, in his *The Gentlemen Conspirators* have told the story well. It would be hard to go wrong. The business world has seldom offered more diverting as well as significant material.

Better organized, more thoughtful than Fuller's, Herling's account details the gangster-like subterfuges of the electrical equipment men with a relish. He develops extraordinary dramatic tension in describing the formidable

"Some of my best friends..."

THAT is the title of a new book which exposes the subtle, insidious ways bigotry operates in the United States today. It was written by the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, and by its general counsel.

The authors show how discrimination manifests itself in social, educational, business and other organizations; how it exploits those who are not themselves prejudiced but are too complacent to complain; how it rots the very core of American democracy; and most important of all —how it can be fought.

"SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS..."
By BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN and ARNOLD FORSTER
$4.50, now at your bookstore
FARRAR, STRAUS & CUDAHY

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hurdles facing the Justice Department's anti-trust division in pressing through for successful prosecution. He also makes effective use of episodes like the General Electric Company's annual meeting and the Kefauver hearings to convey a sense of the personalities and mentalities of the conspirators. It is important that Americans now have this record. Corporate sales of $1.75 billion were involved in the case. The country's top 29 electrical equipment manufacturers pleaded guilty and received fines of $2 million. Seven executives got 30-day jail sentences. It was the jailing that shook up the business community. Fines can be suffered almost gladly (companies always reimburse individual officers fined) but captains and even corporals of industry are singularly vulnerable to the humiliations associated with a stretch in the clink. It won't do, you know.

Fuller and Herling (but not Richard Austin Smith in his splendid *Fortune* series, April-May 1961, "The Incredible Electrical Conspiracy" to which both authors are greatly indebted though they don't acknowledge it) each credit Julian Granger, a reporter of *The Knoxville News-Sentinel,* with first calling public attention to the fact that sealed, secret bids to the TVA for electrical transformers magically came out identical. Granger does deserve credit for an assiduous reporting job. Yet, as Smith made clear, the Anti-Trust Division had been investigating the electrical equipment field for a long time. After all, General Electric, the country's fourth largest company and the star defendant in the case, had a history of anti-trust actions going back fifty years and an awareness of the industry's identical bidding had become general in recent years.

The trick, however, was to develop evidence that would substantiate the charge of conspiracy. This took some massive doing. Eventually, as more and more men were questioned and a kind of cumulative breaking of the case occurred, the Justice Department was able to rack up a notable triumph. Arrogance was the electrical firms' Achilles' heel. Presenting absolutely identical yet sealed bids on huge, complicated pieces of equipment that had to be shipped over greatly varying distances was what did them in. For example, TVA's records disclosed 24 instances of identical bids over a three year period figured down to the last cent. The effect of the price-fixing, of course, was to cheat the American public of millions of dollars. The inflated prices charged to utilities, the TVA, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department, to municipal governments, etc., ultimately were passed on to consumers in the form of higher electrical rates, costlier appliances, steeper taxes.

As both books make clear with mordant sarcasm, the least satisfactory aspect of the case was the inability of the government to develop sufficient probative evidence to prosecute the highest ranking executives, men like Board Chairman Cordiner of GE and especially GE's third in command, Arthur Vinson. The palpable involvement of the industry's top brass in so pervasive a conspiracy is borne upon the reader again and again. But their protests of ignorance of what went on, while condemning them at the least of fantastic management negligence, could not be broken down. Indentical pricing is one thing. However, it is no easy matter (and maybe it's just as well it isn't too easy) to establish actual conspiracy. Interestingly, Herling reports on a survey of 30 young business executives made in June 1961 at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania wherein they were asked "Do you think Cordiner did not know about the price fixing?" All except one thought he did know about it and this opinion seems to be typical of the knowledgeable public.

The real hero of the case, if there was a hero, was probably the relentless prosecutor Assistant Attorney General Robert Alan Bicks, who made this powerful statement in court: "These men and the companies involved here have in a true sense mocked the image of that economic system which we profess to the world. They have destroyed the model which we offer as a free-world alternative. How we deal with these violations bespeaks worlds as to the sincerity and seriousness and depth of purpose with which we truly advocate the merits of our system, of our free enterprise system at home and abroad. That is what is really involved. . . ."

MOVIES

The Truth and Where to Find It

A Taste of Honey (Continental)
Testament of Orpheus
(Films Around the World)

A fascinating outline history of Western civilization could be graphed by a chronology of the stories of outstanding epics, dramas, novels. Surprises would occur; for instance, the idea that, for many centuries, literature was concerned only with adventures of the nobility is occasionally contradicted from Hesiod onward. But since the French and Industrial Revolutions, crowns have virtually been replaced by common men. Out of this a curious corollary has arisen: the poorer the characters, the truer the truth of the work must be.

To this, the mid-20th Century has made an addition. Not only do poverty and low caste certify truth but moral eccentricity intensifies it. "Who cares about rich people?", a remark I heard apropos of *Tender Is the Night* when the novel first appeared, could today almost be amended to "rich and/or conventional people."

A few years ago a 19-year-old Lancashire girl named Shelagh Delaney wrote a successful play called *A Taste of Honey* which deals with a sensitive adolescent working-class girl's discovery of love, her difficulties with her mother, her friendship with an understanding boy, her reconciliation with her mother. Thus described, it might have been written in 1900. But this 17-year-old's first amorous experience is with a Negro sailor who leaves her expecting a child; her mother is a quasi tart; the boy who befriends her is a homosexual. By now the general assumption is that a play and film about such subjects must be more honest and interesting than those about conventional people; that to question this is

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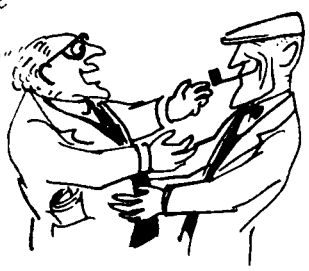
JULES FEIFFER

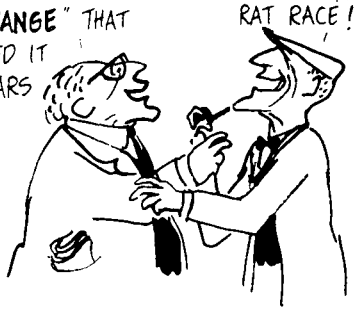
GIL! DO THESE OLD EYES **DECEIVE** ME? I HAVEN'T SEEN **YOU** SINCE THE OLD "**YOUTH FOR TOMORROW**" DAYS THIRTY YEARS AGO!

WHAT A FACTIONALIST RAT RACE **THAT** WAS, EH, DAN BOY?



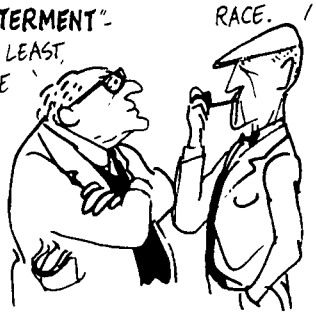
THAT WAS **NOTHING!** YOU SHOULD HAVE JOINED "**STUDENTS FOR CHANGE**" THAT FOLLOWED IT FIVE YEARS LATER -

OH, I JOINED! I JOINED! WAS **THAT** EVER A FACTIONALIST RAT RACE!



WELL, **ONE** GOOD THING CAME OUT OF IT- "**BUDDIES FOR BETTERMENT**"- **THEY**, AT LEAST, HAD SOME **UNITY**-

UNTIL IT DETERIORATED INTO A FACTIONALIST RAT RACE.



I JOINED ONE OF THE SPLINTER GROUPS- "**JUNIORS FOR JUSTICE**". YOU WEREN'T ACTIVE IN **THAT** ONE, WERE YOU, GIL?

NO, I HAD TO TEMPORARILY DROP OUT OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT. MY WIFE WAS HAVING HER FOURTH BABY. BUT I HEAR IT DEVELOPED INTO A FACTIONALIST RAT RACE.

WELL, **EVERYTHING** FELL APART FOR AWHILE. A LOT OF THE YOUTH **WE** KNEW BEGAN RETIRING OR GOING ON PENSION. **NEW** FACES CAME IN. **NEW** YOUTH— INEXPERIENCED. DISRESPECTFUL. **UNTHEORETICAL.**

DIRECTIONLESS!

5-13

©HALL SYNDICATE FEIFFER

THEY **NEED** DIRECTION! I'VE BEEN TRYING TO GET MYSELF INTO "**PROGENY FOR PEACE**" BUT - I DON'T KNOW- FOR SOME REASON THEY DON'T SEEM TO **WANT** ME.

THAT'S THE TROUBLE WITH KIDS TODAY. NO SENSE OF HISTORY.

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

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to betray a retrogressive and probably censorious mind. Works like this, we are assumed to assume, help to illuminate "the human condition" (a phrase that is beginning to replace "integrity" in the jargon of TV circles).

This possibly sardonic preamble backfires on me to some extent when I admit, as I must, that a great deal of *A Taste of Honey* is touching and none of it is boring. Part of this may be due to the humorous quality of its shock content. (The girl, curious about homosexuals, says to her homeless friend: "I'll let you stay if you'll tell me what you *do*.") Besides, Miss Delaney's dialogue is lively, her sympathies are warm. Basically, however, the film seems a slice of eccentric life that impressed her when she saw it or its components around her in Salford. She was right both in theory and in the event to believe that if it moved her, it could probably be made to move others; but such a conjunction of unpleasantnesses, no matter how wryly handled, is bound to take on a pathological color at second-hand. We can think, "Poor unlucky kid"; but it's hard to think, "That's life." I wonder whether it has not become a sentimentality to take for granted that "the human condition" refers primarily to the wretched in estate and in sex life. I do not argue for a return to Dickensian canon; but the *assumption* that the truth about poor and/or aberrant people is truer than the truth about commuters seems to me one of the snares of facile liberalism.

Miss Delaney's film cannot even be considered a social document, a report from the Lancashire lower depths. Although I doubt that she is in love with poverty, I think she would resent her work's being viewed as social propaganda. She has grown up in a world where poverty and sexual unconventionality are part of the materials of art, and she has written about these people with no more apparent thesis than if she were writing about Mayfair.

The motion picture, like the play, is essentially a meandering introspective narrative, not a drama. The mother's wedding still seems a marriage of plot convenience, and, instead of concluding, the film fades out. This would be quite acceptable in the vein of poetic realism if we could feel that something had been arrived at between mother and daughter or even that nothing would ever be conclusively arrived at between them. Still the work is more effective on screen than on Broadway. Joan Plowright converted the role of Jo into a veristic vaudeville for herself, in which she shone. Tony Richardson (co-director of that production and director of the picture) has had his chief triumph in the film by discovering a newcomer named Rita Tushingham and evoking from her a performance that takes the role from the appealingly gauche theatrical into the privacy of a child's secrets and binds the whole work closer to its source.

The first glimpse of Miss Tushingham is startling. She is chunky, thick-legged, broad-nosed, wide-mouthed; only her voice and her searching eyes are immediately attractive. But in a few minutes we know that within that substantial trunk is a sassy modern Ariel. Her Jo is scared, self-reliant, thoroughly appealing. Miss Tushingham (and *there's* a name for an actress to conjure with!) is now working on the London stage. I look forward to her next film to see whether there is more to her – or, at least, more of the same.

The aging-party-girl mother is a fairly easy part, and Dora Bryan is well up to it. Murray Melvin, who resembles a lonely llama, has the shy affection requisite for the homosexual. But Paul Danquah is entirely inadequate as the Negro sailor, and Robert Stephens, the excellent young actor who played George Dillon in New York, is miscast as the mother's friend. Casting "against type" is refreshing, but there has to be a fundamental affinity that makes the surface disconnection not only unimportant but paradoxically helpful. Stephens, for all his ability, lacks conviction as the spiv; besides, he seems too young to care for the mother.

Richardson's direction is, as usual, decidedly mixed. His use of Miss Tushingham and of Melvin is fine; his miscasting of Stephens and his employment of Danquah are deplorable. His direction of some of the intimate scenes is perceptive; but we are again smacked with shots of tawdry beach resorts as in *The Entertainer* and close-ups of ugly people as in *Look Back in Anger*. His "flight from make-believe" drives him right into the arms of pseudo-reality. His camera technique, too, is still insecure. In the beginning occur some grainy, hand-held shots in *Breathless* style – a style inexplicably used and dropped; and he still cannot resist hyper-dramatic cuts, from a quiet scene to the loud beginning of the next, with the loudness irrelevant to the new scene. At present he is an English Sidney Lumet.

Jean Cocteau has made his valedictory film, *Testament of Orpheus*, a sort of sequel to his *Orpheus* (1950), which contains some of the same characters along with some friends of his, including Picasso. It is a fantasy in which he (in person) enacts his search for beauty and states his aesthetic. What an extraordinary man he is, ranging from authentic poetry to successful chichi,

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J. M. Edelstein *is on the staff of the Library of Congress.* Reinhold Niebuhr, *the distinguished historian and theologian, is a professor-emeritus of the Union Theological Seminary.* Edward T. Chase *is a free lance consultant on economics.*

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a laureate both of Oxford University and of *Vogue*. His last film is considerably tedious because it seems so thoroughly *passé*; Beauty with a capital B went out with Oscar Wilde, and the poet as self-conscious hero is deservedly suspect. But every time you're ready to dismiss it all as gifted affectation, he does or says something genuinely imaginative and enlightening. He once wrote that, when he was a child, his family had a neighbor whose carriage was washed weekly with champagne. In view of such a childhood, one can only congratulate Cocteau on achieving as much with his many talents as he has done.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

THEATER

At Work and at Play with the APA

On a recent visit to New York, the Association of Producing Artists – an itinerant repertory troupe known less pretentiously as the APA – deposited three productions on our doorstep, collected a number of favorable reviews and some enthusiastic partisans, and then departed for the interior, just when audiences were beginning to map out the arduous route to the Folksbiene Playhouse. The APA's decision to regard our city as simply another temporary stop in a tour shows admirable selflessness, but it is also quite shrewd: New York, for all its theatrical activity, is the city least likely to support an unsubsidized permanent repertory. Local audiences, conditioned by a competitive system, are attracted to successful plays, not to aspiring companies; and local companies have thus been forced to commercialize their operations, suspending continuity whenever a single play succeeds (only the free Shakespeare Festival in the Park has never trimmed its program to the winds of fashion). As for the local reviewer, he presides over hits and misses, not continuous development. And even when he is sympathetic to repertory ideals, he is powerless to advance them. Torn between a cultural objective (permitting a permanent company to perfect itself) and a critical objective (evaluating each production strictly on its own merits), he can keep a group in business only by lowering his standards; but here he finds that objective criticism and booster journalism are quite contradictory functions.

The School for Scandal
by Richard Brinsley Sheridan
The Seagull by Anton Chekhov
newly translated by Alex Szogyi
The Tavern by George M. Cohan
(APA Repertory Company;
Folksbiene Playhouse)

Lacking the power to influence audiences, I am not beset by the temptations of boosterism, but prodded by the spirit of charity (an unfamiliar demon), I did decide to reserve judgment on the APA until I had seen the full program. Familiar with most of the actors through their work with other repertories like Group 20, Brattle, Antioch, and Stratford, I knew them to be among the better classical performers in America; but their work with the APA I found surprisingly erratic. Last year, I had seen the company at Princeton, performing *King Lear* – a production which would have been more convincing if the men and women had exchanged roles (can you imagine a Lear who stamps his foot when he grows angry?). And this year, one of the New York productions was so agonizingly miscast, misdirected, and misplayed that I began to think that "artist" was merely a euphemism for actors unschooled in the rudiments of their craft.

I refer to the APA production of *The Seagull* – a garbled, semi-modernized version which looked as though someone had dropped the play in a time-place machine and whirled it in several directions at once. The costumes (a hasty collection of tennis shorts, blazers, red cummerbunds, and sweater-skirt ensembles) were confusing enough; and it was disconcerting to find Masha smoking cigarillos instead of taking snuff. But with the translator employing the colloquialisms of the 1960's and the director the style of the 1920's – with some of the actors performing in a Gilbert-Garbo silent film and others in a stock company treatment of *Private Lives* – we seemed to be by turns in Hollywood, Brighton, and Westport, and nowhere very long. Needless to say, the sense of vacuity and isolation inherent in Chekhov's provincial Russia had totally evaporated in the general bubbliness. And gone, too, were the farce and pathos of the play, for instead of alienating us from the absurd posturing, self-pity, and aimlessness of the characters, the director had chosen to make them all extremely ingratiating, vigorous, and self-aware (both Masha and Treplev, for example, were always making fun of their despair). Of the numerous silly-clever ideas substituted for Chekhov's tragic-comic perceptions, I shall mention only one: Treplev's domination by his mother was turned into a passionate Oedipal affair which ended with mother and son kissing each other hungrily on the lips.

The other two APA productions, how-

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ever, made me rather glad I had withheld judgment on the group. In these, the actors displayed that affectionate sensitivity to works of the past which is the major justification of a repertory company. Both, it is true, were performances of comedies; and it may be that the APA – like its director, Ellis Rabb, who is a brilliant clown but a perfectly awful tragedian – is primarily qualified for works which do not demand much emotional depth. At any rate, The APA *School for Scandal*, while not entirely satisfying, had moments of real enjoyment, especially in the second part when plot began to take precedence over character. It must be admitted that some of the acting was not grotesque enough (the actors playing Snake and Lady Sneerwell, for example, neither snaked nor sneered), and George Grizzard, amusing enough as the sanctimonious Joseph Surface, rather neglected the unctuousness in the role. But Rosemary Harris as a teasy Lady Teazle and Clayton Corzatte as a rakish Charles played with spirit and boldness; and the screen scene moved with such vigor, invention, style, and surprise that the entire production was redeemed.

For sheer entertainment, though, the high point of the repertory was the company's superb treatment of George M. Cohan's farce-melodrama, *The Tavern* – an inspired piece of vintage hokum and a fine example of the kind of entertainment that used to abound in the commercial theater before the great deluge of middle seriousness. Following the usual procedure in such cases, the APA endeavored to remove the play's cobwebs by exaggerating the melodrama; but since Cohan himself obviously regarded *The Tavern* as a theatrical joke, the external comment served to heighten rather than to patronize the intentions of the work. Lloyd Burlingame's setting, in which characters warmed their hands before a painted fire after emerging, strewn with paper leaves, from a wind-machine storm, was the perfect picturization of the exaggerated acting style; and Ellis Rabb's direction sometimes moved with such speed and grace that it almost became choreography (as, for example, when a fainting matron was whirled dizzily from one end of the room to the other, and finally deposited, floatingly, on a couch). As for the actors, they made up a large gallery of hilarious caricatures; Tucker Ashworth as a cretinous lover; Page Johnson as a villainous unshaven hired hand; George Grizzard as a red-nosed rogue who moves the action and comments portentously on life and the theater; Gerry Jedd as a dazed, heavy-lidded, slow-thinking victim of the storm who identifies every man she meets as the one who ruined her; Rosemary Harris, as a lisping, empty-headed aristocrat, fluttering in amorous ecstasy and wrinkling her nose with giggles – the entire company, in fact, contributed to the general amusement with ensemble work of the highest quality.

Plays like *The Tavern*, of course, are holidays for a repertory company; and it cannot yet be said that the APA's workdays are quite so impressive. Still, the company is young, visionary, and willing to take risks; it is composed of undeniably strong talents; and, best of all, it has the opportunity to perfect itself through experiment and error. It is in such companies, for all their erraticism, that the theater still realizes its possibilities, just as it is in the love of dedicated actors, for all their failings, that the great classical works continue to survive.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

Dr. Gove's Dictionary

Sirs:

In your attack on *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* ("It Ain't Right," April 23), you start off by saying that if a language is "primitive, vague and illogical," the thought of its speakers will be that way too. Maybe you'll say more about all this. Linguists swear they've never found a "primitive, vague and illogical" language, but everybody knows he can't trust a bunch of sneaking professionals. You may have stumbled on something big. Why don't you just up and name a primitive language and say what makes it primitive? If you do, you'll make a reputation for yourself; and *until* you do, the dirty linguists are likely to say you're only another ama-

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teur, talking through your hat. The dictionary-maker, you say, has to keep his language good so that thought will be possible. When you've finished telling what you mean by a good language and a bad language (and be clear and logical, remember – not primitive), you can get on with the explanation of how an unabridged dictionary can make people talk the way its editors want them to.

Take you, for example. In almost 30 years you didn't learn anything about your own favorite, the *Second International*. If you had learned anything about it, you would have known that its editors set out, like that bolshevik Gove, to record "the usage that now prevails among the educated and cultured people to whom the language is vernacular," and you would have known better than to choose an example like *bimonthly* to bless the *Second* and damn the *Third*. Didn't you ever look up any of the other *bi-* words? Here's the definition of *biweekly* in the *Second*: "Occurring or appearing every two weeks; fortnightly; also, semi-weekly." Some people would like to hear you argue that the editor of the *Third* is a newfangled scoundrel because he says a dictionary "should be descriptive and not prescriptive." Just a bit more than a hundred years ago, the Dean of Westminster said the same thing in the essay that got the *Oxford English Dictionary* going. A dictionary, the Dean said, is "an inventory of the language," and a lexicographer "is an historian of it, not a critic." And the Dean wasn't saying anything new. Sam Johnson himself said in his big way that he did not "form, but register the language," that he did not "teach men how they should think, but relate how they have hitherto expressed their thoughts."

The sense "twice a month" for the word *bimonthly* is new, you say, and "the consequent ambiguity makes the word useless. So the language is allowed to degenerate." Drag yourself away from *Webster's Second* long enough to look at the *Oxford*. You'll find *bimonthly* in the filthy sense as early as 1864, *bidiurnal* "twice a day" from 1854, *biquarterly* "twice a quarter" from 1884, *biweekly* from 1865, *biwinter* from 1884, *biyearly* from 1879; and while you're on the *bi-* kick you might look up *biannual*, too. As the *Third International* – repeat, *Third* – says under the first prefix *bi-*, people often disapprove of these uses "because of the likelihood of confusion"; but the ignorant don't use such words at all, and yet there they stand in the *Oxford*. When you scurry back to *Webster's Second*, be ready for a shock; because you're going to find *biannual, bidiurnal, biquarterly, biweekly, biwinter*, and *biyearly*, all in their wrong meanings.

James Sledd
Evanston, Illinois

The Detroit Free Press

Sirs:

In *The New Republic* of April 30, Prof. William White of Wayne State's Department of Journalism alludes to "rumors – hotly denied – that *The Detroit Free Press* is in economic trouble."

As the major stockholder in *The Detroit Free Press*, I believe I am in the best position to say to Mr. White and to your readers that these reports are not only unfounded, but malicious.

As an instructor of impressionable young people, Professor White ought not to be peddling gossip to his classes. One does not expect to find a professor of journalism mucking about in this nasty business.

I don't know where Mr. White picks up his rumors. But judging from his letter to *The New Republic*, he evidently enjoys repeating anything that will damage the profession he is supposed to teach.

John S. Knight, President,
Detroit Free Press and
Knight Newspapers

In reply . . .

My comment in your April 30 issue that *The Detroit Free Press* "is in economic trouble" is in error, and apologies are due the newspaper and its publisher Mr. John S. Knight. Reflecting concern over being without a metropolitan daily – both *The Free Press* and *The News* are closed by a strike – I wrote "economic trouble" but meant to take it out. When I saw it in print, I realized my mistake: it is neither true nor a rumor. The rumor "hotly denied" recently was about another matter.

William White
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